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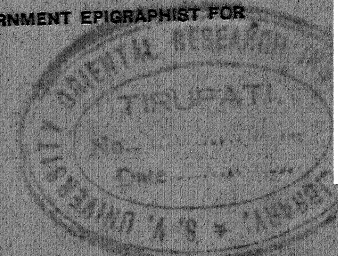
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MOSLEM INSCRIPTIONS.

1917-18.



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CALCUTTA
SUPERINTENDENT GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA
1921

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INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BIJAPŪR KINGS, 'ALĪ 'ĀDIL SHĀH I AND IBRĀHĪM 'ĀDIL SHĀH II, FROM NALDRUG, NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.

By G. YAZDANI.

Naldrug (17° 49' N. and 76° 29' E.) is a small town in the Osmānābād district of the Nizam's Dominions. The tradition, ascribing the foundation of the town to Raja Nala, goes back to the time of Firishṭa who, while describing the warfare between 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapūr and Ḥusain Nizām Shāh of Ahmad Nagar in the year 966 A.H. (1559 A.D.), mentions Naldrug as "the place where Raja Nul had formerly erected a strong fortress."¹ After the advent of the Muslims in the Deccan the Fort seems to have been included in the kingdom of the Bahmani dynasty, for in the reign of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Bahmani II (1435-58), we find Naldrug one of the six forts of the kingdom seized by his brother Muḥammad Khān by the aid of the Vijayanagar king.² Later, in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmani III (1463-82), when the empire was divided into eight provinces by the talented minister, Maḥmūd Gāwān, Naldrug, with Sholapur, Sagur and Gulbarga, was entrusted to the Abyssinian eunuch Dastūr Dinār.³ On the extinction of the Bahmani dynasty the Fort fell to the 'Ādil Shāhs and in 966-68 A.H. (1558-60 A.D.) 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh made extensive additions in the fortifications of the Fort, for its position on the border between his kingdom and that of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar had made it a bone of contention between them.⁴

'Alī 'Ādil Shāh also changed the name of Naldrug into Shāhdrug,⁵ which appears to have never become popular; but in Firishṭa's history this name frequently occurs in the account of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II (1580-1628).⁶

During the reign of the latter monarch, the Fort of Naldrug was the base of his operations against the Quṭb Shāhī and Ahmad Shāhī kings and it is often referred to in this connection in

¹ Briggs, Vol. II, p. 122.

² Ibid., pp. 421-23.

³ Idem, pp. 502-03.

⁴ Ibid., p. 122, and Basātīnu-s-Salāṭīn, p. 58.

⁵ This fact is mentioned in a MS. in my Office Library described further in this Journal (*infra*, p. 4). The MS. contains the following account of Naldrug Fort:—

نلدرك (مشتمل بر هشت محال و چهار صد و هشتاد و نر مواضع و ده لك و بيست و پنج هزار و در صد و هفتاد و چهار زيريه جمع دارد) - شرقي ظفر نگر محمد آباد - شمالي كديان - غربي پرگانات انكلوٹ محمد آباد - جنوبي سرحد سرکار سگر - قلعه كوھي نيست ليكن اطرافش همه كوه فرو گرفته و قلعه در كوه - و آب بهيمرا از بين سرکار شده در سرکار فيروز گده محمد آباد مي رود - در قدیم الايام اين قلعه را راجه نل مانوہ كه بر دمينتي دختر راجه بهيم بيدري عاشق شده بود ساخته لهذا بدین اسم مشهور - و چون بعد مرور ازمنه اندراس يفته بود در سده نهمد و شصت و شش علي عادلشاه حاكم بيجا پور بذاير تسخير شولا پور كه هميشه متنازع عادلشاهيه و نظم شاهيه بود باساني دست دعد قدیم جای قلعه را كه اندك آثار آن ظاهر بود طرح قلعه مستحکم انداخته موسوم به شاه درگ نمود - و ندي بري را يك طرف قلعه سدّی بسته اند در نهايت استحکام بارتفاع بيست و دو گز و درميان سد نشیمنی ساخته اند مشهور به پن محل - در ايام برشكال كه آب طغياني ميكند چادری از بالای پل زوان مي شود و از بالای نشیمن مي افتد - تازين اين سد را يك هزار و هشت و سه نوشته اند - و ده برهي قلعه مضاف به پرگنه مذکور موضعی است تلجا پور ملقب بمهدي آباد - تلجا بهواني آنجا است - از دور دستها همه سال خلقي انبوه به پرستش آيند - و اين جا از مشاهير و معظم پرستشكدهای دکن است - درگاه شين علاء ادين مشهور به لادلی انصاري در كمال رفعت و رونق بفاصله از قصبه راقع شده - پيش از سيد محمد گيسو دراز تشریف آورده *

⁶ Briggs, Vol. II, pp. 146, 149, 151, 154, 154, 159, 161, 162, 165, 170, 180 and 183-86.

contemporary writings. In 995 A.H. (1587 A.D.) Naldrug was the scene of a magnificent ceremony, the marriage of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh to Princess Malika Jahān, the beautiful sister of Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, which was arranged to maintain peace between the rival dynasties of Bijapūr and Golconda.

In 1686 Aurangzeb conquered Bijapūr, and Naldrug, with other towns of the 'Ādil Shāhi territory, was annexed to the Mughal kingdom. After the establishment of the Āṣif Jāhi dynasty in the Deccan, the town seems to have come into their possession, and it was one of the districts surrendered by the Nizam's Government to the Government of India under the treaty of 1853. Naldrug was, however, restored in 1860 together with the Raichur Doab.

Of the inscriptions, which are two in number, one (Pl. I b) records the building of a mosque and a Fort by Khwāja Ni'matulla in 968 A.D., in the reign of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. The mosque alluded to in the inscription is undoubtedly the building on which the inscription is carved and the Fort is the Naldrug Fortress the reconstruction of which, under the superintendence of Ni'matulla in the reign of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, is mentioned by Firishṭa and also recorded in the *Basātinu-s-Salāṭīn*. The late Colonel Meadows Taylor, who visited the Fort in 1853, has given a very accurate description of it in his autobiography—*The Story of my Life* (pp. 286-87). He writes :—

"The Fort of Naldrug was one of the most interesting places I had ever seen. It enclosed the surface of a knoll or plateau of basalt rock which jutted out into the valley or ravine of the small river Bori from the main plateau of the country, and was almost level. The sides of this knoll were sheer precipices of basalt, here and there showing distinct columnar and prismatic formation, and varying from 50 to 200 feet in height, the edge of the plateau being 200 feet, more or less, above the river, which flowed at the base of the precipice on two sides of the fort. Along the crest of the cliff on three sides ran the fortifications—bastions and curtains alternately, some of the former being very firmly built of cut and dressed basalt, and large enough to carry heavy guns; and the parapets of the machicolated curtains were everywhere loopholed for musketry. On the west side the promontory joined the main plateau by a somewhat contracted neck, also strongly fortified by a high rampart, with very roomy and massive bastions; below it a fausse-braye, with the same; then a broad, deep, dry ditch, cut for the most part out of the basalt itself; a counterscarp, about 20 or 25 feet high, with a covered way; and beyond it a glacis and esplanade, up to the limits of the town.

"The entire circumference of the enceinte might have been about a mile and a half, and the garrison, in former times, must have been very large, for nearly the whole of the interior was covered by ruined walls, and had been laid out as a town with a wide street running up the centre. All the walls and bastions were in perfect repair, and the effect of the fort outside was not only grim and massive, but essentially picturesque."

The mosque is a small structure consisting of a hall (42' 6" × 30') and a courtyard (42' 6" × 13' 6"). By the insertion of masonry pillars the hall has been divided into two aisles, each of which has three arched openings towards the east. The inscriptional tablet is fixed on the northern door of the mosque, which is rather low and built in the pillar-and-lintel style. The tablet is of polished black basalt and measures 4' 6" × 1' 2".

The language of the inscription is Arabic and the style of writing is *Tughra* of a very picturesque kind. The scribe was probably a Persian artist. I have read the inscription as follows :—

PLATE I (b).

في عهد السلطان ابوالمظفر علي عادل شاه خلد الله ملكه قد بنا (sic) هذا المسجد و
الحصار في زمان واحد نعمة الله بن خواجه اسمعيل كره خراجي نهاندي سنه ٩٦٨ ©

TRANSLATION.

During the reign of the Sultān, Abu-l-Muẓaffar 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—this mosque and the Fort were built simultaneously by Nīmatulla, son of Khwāja Ismā'il Kurd Khirāji of Nihawand, in 968 A.H. (1560 A.D.).

The other inscription is carved on a marble tablet (1' 9" × 1' 4½") fixed in the Pāni Maḥall (Water Pavilion), which is a set of rooms built in the thickness of a stone dam erected across the river Bori. The dam is a fine example of old engineering and extends to a length of 572 feet, while the width differs, at various points, from 8 to 47 feet. The height from the river bed is 63 feet. The entire construction of the *band* is extremely massive and ingenious. It has three sluices at different heights and also arrangements on the top for overflow in time of flood. The dam, by retaining water, afforded an unlimited supply to the garrison, which was no small advantage in a long siege.

The Maḥall (Pavilion) built in the thickness of the *band* comprises the hall (23' × 20' 10"), a balcony (26' 3" × 3' 6") overlooking the river and two small side rooms. In the rainy season the balcony affords a glorious sight of the river, the flooding waters of which fall from the top of the building forming a huge spray. Besides these rooms the architect designed an apartment in the *band* for a mill, which was worked by the water of the river.

My office MS. (*infra*, p. 4) records that the *band* was constructed by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I; but according to the date contained in the inscription it was built in the year 1022 A.H. (1613 A.D.), during the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. The architect's name, which is given in the inscription, is Mir Muḥammad 'Imādin ('Imād-i-dīn).

The inscription consists of four lines of Persian verse which are written in very distinct and elegant *Naskh* characters. I have read the lines as follows:—

PLATE I (a).

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| از حضرت شاه دین پناه منصور | * | شد میر محمد عمادین مامور |
| در بستن این سد و بتوفیق آله | * | سدی شده چون سد سکندر مشهور |
| از دیدن این چشم مبدان روشن | * | میگردن و چشم دشمنان گردد کور |
| از دل کردم سرال تاریخش گفت | * | کاین سد بلطفشاه ماند معمور |

۵۱۰۲۲

TRANSLATION.

(1) From the court of the king, the refuge of the faith, the victorious, Mir Muḥammad 'Imādin ('Imād-i-dīn, or 'Imādu-d-dīn) was appointed.

(2) To build this *band* which, by the grace of God, has attained fame like Alexander's ramparts.

(3) By looking at it (the *band*) the eyes of friends brighten and the eyes of enemies are blinded.

(4) I inquired of my intellect about the date of the building. The intellect said: "May this dam by the grace of the king remain intact." 1022 A.H. (1613 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION OF Khāfi Khān FROM NARSĀPŪR (HYDERABAD STATE).

By G. YAZDANI.

Narsāpūr is now the head-quarters of a Taluqa in the late Nawab Khurshid Jāh's Pālgāh in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, and it is situated 32 miles north of Hyderabad. A manuscript in my office library (No. 482a), containing a statistical account of the Deccan in the early part of the 18th century, describes Narsāpūr as a Pargana in the Medak Sarkar yielding a revenue of Rs. 79,178.¹

The inscription was brought to my notice in 1915 by W. A. Gayer, Esq., Deputy Director-General of Police, Hyderabad, who had come to know of it through his assistant, Mr. Muḥammad Yunus. I visited Narsāpūr in the cold weather of 1917 and found the inscription tablet *in situ* fixed into the wall of a large well, the construction of which is commemorated by the inscription.

The most important feature of the record is the mention of the title Khāfi Khān, about the exact significance of which there has been a difference of opinion among scholars. Morley (*Catalogue*, p. 100) led by popular belief, which still exists, considered that Khāfi was from Khāfā, 'to conceal,' and that the title had an allusion to the fact that the author's great work, written in spite of Aurangzeb's well-known prohibition, was a concealed account of the monarch's reign. Rieu observes that the author did not enter upon the composition of the work until after Aurangzeb's death, so there were no apparent reasons for him to conceal the work. According to Rieu the title is taken from the author's *nisbah* Khawāfi from Khawaf, a district in Khurasan near Naishapur.²

Elliot also arrived at the same conclusion and remarked :—"What is confirmatory of this opinion is that not only does Ghulam 'Alī Shāh style our author Muhammad Hashim, the son of Khawaja Mir Khwāfi, but he himself gives his father's name as Mir Khawafi."³ It is not known in what work of the author Elliot saw his father's name.⁴ The text of the *Muntakhabu-l-Jubāb* (Bibl. Ind.) contains the name of one Khawāja Kalān Khwāfi, who was the maternal uncle (*Khālā*) of the author.⁵ Professor 'Abdu-l-Muqtadir of Patna College and Hafiz Nazir Ahmad of the Asiatic Society of Bengal have kindly drawn my attention to the heading of a chapter on Farrukh Siyar in an anonymous historical MS., preserved in the Library at Bankipore (No. 590), which deals with the administration of the successors of Aurangzeb up to the thirtieth year of Shāh 'Alam II's reign (1789 A.D.). The heading runs thus :—

صورت عبارت محمد هاشم بن خواجه مير محمدر تاريخ كه خواني العمل از زمين نمك پروان
صاحبقران ثاني شاهجهان بادشاه و ار و پدرش رفيق سلطان مراد بخش بود و تاريخي
كه متضمن احوال اكثر سلاطين هند و خصوصا بادشاهان تيموريه نگاشته تا ابتدای عهد محمد شاه
بن جهان شاه بن بهادر شاه بحیطه تحرير در آورده *

Elliot seems to have noticed this heading, for the information contained therein is incorporated in his book. But it is the author of the anonymous work that mentions Khawāja Mir as the

¹ This MS. mentions Sultānpūr as another name of Narsāpūr.

² *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, Vol. I, p. 2325.

³ *History of India*, Vol. VII, p. 208.

⁴ *Muntakhabu-l-Jubāb* (Pt. II, p. 542) contains the name of one Shāikh Mir Khwāfi, but from the context it cannot be inferred that he was the father of the author.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Pt. II, pp. 19-20.

name of Khāfi Khān's father and not Khāfi Khān himself, as stated by Elliot. The author of the anonymous work lived about half a century later than Khāfi Khān and it is not impossible that he may have confused the latter's father with his maternal uncle whose name, as I have stated above, was Khwāja Kalān and whose *nisbah* was Khwāfi.

There is, however, no doubt that Khāfi Khān's *nisbah* was Khwāfi¹ and this style is not new to the students of Indian history; but the point is that in no case has it been abbreviated into Khāfi, the form in which it occurs in the *Muntakhabu-l-lubāb*, as also in the inscription. In the printed text of the *Ma'āthiru-l-Umara'* (Bibl. Ind.) the spelling of the name is not uniform—in some places it has been spelt Khwāfi Khān,² while at others it has been written Khāfi Khān without the 'ا'.³ It is, therefore, not certain in what manner Shāhnawāz Khān, the author of the *Ma'āthiru-l-Umara'*, spelt the name in the original manuscript. The spelling, Khāfi Khān, adopted in the inscription and used also in the author's history, induces one to agree with Morley that during Aurangzeb's reign, in spite of his prohibition, there was a historian in 'concealment,' who was carefully noticing the events of his reign and who, after the monarch's demise, compiled a history of the period. This view gains support from the author's own statement. He writes:—

آنچه خرد بعد حد تمیز رسیدن در مدت سی چهل سال برای العین مشاهده نموده
بصندوق حافظه سپرده بود بقید قلم در آورد *

"And whatsoever, after arriving at years of discretion, I had for thirty or forty years seen with my own eyes and laid up in the box of my memory, that I have written."

Tradition ascribes the giving of the title to Muḥammad Shāh, whose court was full of jesters, and it is not curious that the king should have ennobled the author with this funny title, based partly on his *nisbah* and partly on the circumstances in which his great work was compiled.⁴

Khāfi Khān's life has not been noticed in any contemporary work and the particulars given by Elliot are derived from various references occurring incidentally in the *Muntakhabu-l-lubāb*. The exact year of Khāfi Khān's birth is not mentioned in his work; but it may be determined, with a possible difference of two or three years, from the following passage:—

و در مدت پنجاه و دو سال که مسود اوراق بحد تمیز آمده مشاهده می نماید هیچ ظالم
خود عاقبت بخیر نگشته - و فرزندان او از طرف رزق و آبرو بموان دل نرسیدند - بل نام و نشان
آن جماعت در ده بیست سال بر صفحه روزگار نماند - و اولاد سعدالله خان لغایت حال که
هفتاد و چهار سال از زمان وفات اوست همه عاقبت محمود و فراخ روزی و نیکنام زیست نمودند
و می نمایند⁵ *

¹ In the *Muntakhabu-l-lubāb*, Vol. III (Āsafya Library MSS. Nos. 216 and 403), the author writes:—

تاریخ منتخب لباب تألیف خادم آثم محمد هاشم خوافی که آخر مخاطب بخافی خان نظام الملکی

گردید *

² *Ma'āthiru-l-Umara'*, Vol. I, pp. 4, 264 and 451, and Vol. III, p. 650.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 228.

⁴ Elliot writes:—"It is not impossible that Muḥammad Shāh may have indulged in a joke upon the author's original name, and may have expressed himself in some such phrase to the effect that the author was now really Khwāfi." *History of India*, Vol. VII, p. 209.

⁵ *Muntakhabu-l-lubāb*, Vol. I, p. 741.

Sa'dulla Khān died in 1066 A.H., so that if we add seventy-four years to it we get the date 1140 A.H. At this time a period of 52 years had elapsed since Khāfi Khān attained to the age of discretion, which may be fixed at sixteen to eighteen years. The birth of the author, therefore, must have taken place between the years 1070-72 A.H. (1659-61 A.D.).

His father was a devoted servant of Prince Murād Baksh, whom he accompanied even in the days of the Prince's misfortune and was not tempted to join Aurangzeb's service. When Murād Baksh was imprisoned in the Fort at Gwālior, he stayed outside the Fort and planned to rescue the Prince by escalading the walls in the night. The plan, however, failed through the folly of Murād Baksh's concubine, Sarsun Bāi, whose cries roused the guards.¹ Khāfi Khān's maternal uncle, Khwāja Kalān, held the office of Diwān of Ujjain² and his cousin Muḥammad Murād Khān was a trusted servant of Aurangzeb and was employed in different capacities. Before the conquest of Golconda he was the Royal Ambassador at the court of Abu-l-Hasan.³ Khāfi Khān himself seems to have been employed in both military and political situations under Aurangzeb. In 1093 A.H. (1682 A.D.) he was with the Imperial army which was sent to besiege the Fort of Ramsej in the Deccan. Later on we find him attached to the staff of 'Abdu-r-Razzāq, Faujdār of Rāheri (Western India), and in that capacity visiting the English Factors at Surat in connection with the plundering of the Mughal boats. In 1119 A.H. (1707-08 A.D.) he was present in the battle which was fought between Shāh 'Ālam I and Kām Baksh; but he does not write in what capacity he witnessed the scene.

Afterwards he was employed as Diwān and Officer-in-charge of the entertainment of the Persian prince, Mirza Muḥammad Hāshim, a maternal grandson, in third descent, of Shāh 'Abbās of Persia, who came out to India when Shāh 'Ālam I occupied the throne of Delhi. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar, Nizāmu-l-Mulk, the first Nizām of Hyderabad, appointed Khāfi Khān a Diwān in his service. This office he seems to have retained for a considerable time, and in 1140 A.H., the date of the inscription, he probably occupied the same office.

Khāfi Khān travelled much in India and his history of the later period of Aurangzeb's rule and of the reigns of his successors is particularly valuable, for he writes as an eye-witness to many an event.

Khāfi Khān was an honest and just man and rather liberal in his religious views. He, however, despised idolatry, and while speaking of the wooden images of Christ and the Virgin Mary at Hughli he observes that in English churches⁴ the representations are not in the form of idols. He writes that he often lived in company with the Christian divines and discussed religious questions with them. Khāfi Khān was a Sunni, but he was deeply interested in doctrines wherein the opinions of the various Islamic schools of theology differed. He had great faith in Sufi Faqirs and he was probably a disciple of Mir Naṣīru-d-dīn of Herat.⁵ He died in 1144 A.H. (1731-32 A.D.).

¹ *Muntakhabu-l-lubāb*, Pt. II, pp. 155-56.

² Khāfi Khān also mentions a maternal uncle of his father, Zainu-l-'Ābidīn Khān, whom he styles the founder of Aurangabad (Pt. II, p. 555). Zainu-l-'Ābidīn Khān was the Diwān of Burhānpūr in 1076 A.H. (1665 A.D.), and in 1077 A.H. (1666 A.D.) was appointed Officer-in-charge of the affairs of the Port of Surat (*Ibid.*, pp. 206-09).

³ *Idem*, p. 290.

⁴ Probably meaning the Protestant churches.

⁵ *Muntakhabu-l-lubāb*, Pt. II, pp. 556-59.

The inscription is carved in three lines on a tablet of pinkish sandstone measuring 4' 6" × 1' 6". The language is Persian and the style of writing is *Nasta'liq*. The inscription is in verse and I have deciphered it as follows :—

PLATE I (c).

چشمه شیرین درین قصبه نبود * کز زلالش تشنه را لب تر بود
 ساخت خاندان چنین چاه لطیف * موج آبش جسم را جوهر برد
 هاتفی گفت از پی تاریخ سال * چشمه پاکیزه از کوثر بود¹

سنه ۱۱۴۰

TRANSLATION.

This town had no sweet spring,
 The limpid waters of which could moisten the lips of the thirsty.
Khāfi Khān constructed this fine well,
 The waves of the waters of which are life to the (human) body.
 Hātifi composed the chronogram thus :—

“It is a spring purer than the Kauthar.”²

1140 A.H. (1727-28 A.D.).

¹ The metre of these lines is *Ramāl*.

² According to another reading the verse may be translated thus :—

An unknown inspirer suggested the following chronogram, “This is a pure spring, flowing out of Kauthar.”

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KHALJĪ SULTĀNS OF DELHĪ AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES IN BENGAL.

BY G. YAZDANI.

Of the thirty-seven inscriptions dealt with in this article, thirty-one belong to the reigns of the Khaljī Sultāns,¹ 'Alā'u-d-Dīn and Mubārak Shāh, and six to their contemporary kings in Bengal, Kaikā'ūs and Firoz Shāh. The earliest and the latest epigraphs of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn, which are dated 698 and 715 A.H., respectively, come by a coincidence from Hānsi, which was an important military centre during the time of the early Musalman rulers of India, being situated on the route which passed from Bhatinda to Delhi and was often followed by the raiders from the North-West. Hānsi possesses four more inscriptions of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn, proving again the importance of the town at the time. The other epigraphs of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn come from Fatehpur Sikrī, Budaun, Bāngarmau (Unao District), and Rāprī (Mainpuri District) in the United Provinces; Rohtak in the Panjab; Delhi, the capital; Bayānā in Rajputana; and Petlād in the Baroda State. These places fairly represent the stretch of the country which in a settled condition was under the sway of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn, although his conquests touched the furthestmost corners of the Indian peninsula.

Mubārak Shāh's reign is represented by five epigraphs, three of which are from Bayānā, one from the Mirzāpur District, another from Cambay and another from the Aurangabad District in the Nizam's Dominions, indicating precisely the limits of his kingdom.

Of the inscriptions of Bengal kings, three belong to Kaikā'ūs, having been found at Lakhsarai (Monghyr District), Tribenī (Hooghly District) and Devikot (Dinajpur District). The reign of Firoz Shāh also claims three epigraphs, two coming from Bihar and one from Tribenī. The existence of all the early Muslim inscriptions of Bengal in Bihar and the country bordering it in the north and north-east shows that the Muslim Art had not penetrated into the interior of the Province during the first century of the Musalman rule.

Apart from these geographical details, the inscriptions furnish interesting data regarding the chronology and political events of the period. To wit, Kaikā'ūs, son of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān, whose name was altogether omitted by the court chroniclers of Delhi from the list of the rulers of Bengal, is affirmed by no less than three inscriptions to have been a king about the years 697-98 A.H.² Again, Governor Zafar Khān, whose origin and life the local tradition had treated as a myth, is proved to have been a historical personage by three epigraphs and his name, race and the province under his government are described.³ Another inscription, from Petlād (Baroda State), clears the confusion caused by 'Alī Muḥammad Khān (author of the *Mir'at-i-Āḥmadī*) and Firishṭa regarding the Governor of Gujarat who in 715 A.H. was, at the instance of Malik Kāfūr, called to the capital and slain there. The inscription

¹ Cunningham had seen another Khaljī inscription belonging to the reign of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn, at Bayānā, the tablet of which is not to be found now, although a careful search for it has been made. Cunningham describes the tablet as standing outside the Nobāra Masjid (Ukha Mosque). The removal of the tablet in view of the elaborate character of its writing is not a strange circumstance. A facsimile of the inscription is however preserved in *A. S. B.*, Vol. XX, Pl. 14, and, with a view to compare it with other contemporary inscriptions, I have reproduced it in Plate XXIV attached to this essay. The inscription is fragmentary and contains only the name and a few of the titles of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn.

² See inscriptions I-III. To Thomas belongs the credit of arranging the genealogy of the descendants of Bughrā Khān from information given by the acute African traveller, Ibn-i-Baṭṭa, in collation with the data furnished by inscriptions and coins.

³ See inscriptions II, III and XXVIII, pp. 11-15 and 33. Also compare Mr. D. Money's article, *Temples of Triveni*, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 395-96.

(No. XXVII) confirms the statement of Barani that it was Alp Khān and not Ulugh Khān who in 715 A.H. was Governor of Gujarat.¹

The inscriptions studied in this essay may also prove useful to the students of Indian architecture as fixing the date of several important structures, namely, the 'Alā'i Darwāza at Delhi, the Jhālar Bāoli and Ukha Masjid at Bayānā, the 'Idgāh at Rāpri, the Zafar Khān's tomb at Tribeni, etc. The greatest interest of the epigraphs, however, lies in their literary and calligraphic features. For example, inscription III on Zafar Khān's Mosque at Tribeni is the earliest Indian epigraph in Arabic verse, and all the more interesting because of its containing a chronogram at its end, which is the oldest example of its kind in Muslim epigraphy. Inscription VIII, on the Barsi Gate of Hānsi, on the other hand represents the earliest Muslim epigraph in Persian verse. Inscription XXX again from Hānsi, like the well-known chronogram of Babur's birth, *Shāsh Muḥarram*, indicates the week-day and the date of the month in respect of the completion of a building by the phrase, "*Duḥum māhi Muḥarramo roz Jum'a*," while the year according to the Abjad system is obtainable from the numerical value of the letters constituting the phrase.

Of the total thirty-seven inscriptions, fifteen are in Arabic, one of which, as already stated, is in verse. The remaining twenty-two inscriptions are in Persian, seven of them being in verse and the rest in prose. The language of the Persian prose inscriptions has a strong admixture of Arabic words and phrases, so much so that some of the inscriptions with the exclusion of one or two words can be rendered into Arabic. The inscriptions in Persian verse cannot be classed as brilliant compositions and they seem to have been the work of ordinary poets.

The styles of writing represented by these inscriptions range themselves under two main classes; the bold, vigorous script of Delhi and the highly stylish ornamental characters of Bengal. The artistic genius of Delhi at this time was characterized by a lofty idealism, combined with a scrupulous sense of the perfection of the minutest detail and Fergusson's remark on the architecture of the period—"They built like Titans and finished like jewellers"—may appropriately be applied to the calligraphic productions of the age. The giant size of the 'Alā'i Darwāza inscriptions with the beauty of the characters and the elegance of their arrangement, indeed, marks the culminating point of the Delhi calligraphic style of the early period (Plates VII-IX). The artistic merits of the style in places away from the capital diminish in proportion to their distance. The script, being fairly good at Hānsi, becomes somewhat rugged at Bayānā and altogether clumsy at Petlād and Khuldabād.²

The script of Bengal on the other hand has been characterized from the beginning by delicacy of form and subtlety of arrangement. These features may be noticed in the earliest Muslim epigraph there, the Barī Dargāh inscription at Bihar dated 649 A.H.³ The intricate designs of the two Firoz Shāh inscriptions, published in this essay (Plates VI b and XII), indicate the early forms of the fine *Tughra* writing of Bengal, which reached its climax a century and a half later during the reigns of the Habshī kings and the house of Husain Shāh.

In collecting the material for this essay, I am greatly indebted to the Superintendents of the Archæological Survey, Eastern, Northern and Western Circles, who were kind enough to furnish me with inked rubbings of the inscriptions in their respective circles.

¹ See inscription XXVII, also Bayley's *History of Gujarat*, p. 39.

² See Pls. IV, XI, XIII and XXIII.

³ *E. I. M.*, 1913-14, Pl. V.

I.—Inscription of King Kaikā'ūs of Bengal, found at Lakhisarai (Monghyr).

Blochmann, in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII (1873), has noticed an inscription of Kaikā'ūs from Khagol (Khagaul, Dinapur Subdivision, Patna District), which is identical with our inscription in its wording as well as style of writing and, further, as the mark of the stone being broken occurs in both the records at the same place, there remains no doubt that they are one and the same inscription. Now, the rubbing of the inscription on which Blochmann's reading is based was sent to him by Cunningham who had either found the inscription at Khagol or was camping there at the time he forwarded the rubbing, which led Blochmann to believe that the inscription belonged to that place.

In the cold season of 1917 Maulawi Jamālu-d-dīn, Assistant to the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, sent me rubbings of some inscriptions of Bengal, in which this inscription was also included, and it was marked by him as having been found in an anonymous tomb at Lakhisarai in the Monghyr District. To make certain of the provenance of the epigraph I requested the Archaeological Superintendent, Eastern Circle, to enquire into the matter through the Collector of Monghyr, who was kind enough to subsequently report that the inscription stone had been lying near an anonymous tomb at Lakhisarai for a very long time and the custodian of the local Dargah, as well as the old residents of the place, state that they have always seen it there.¹ As the inscription does not belong to the tomb where it is lying, and the local people are not interested in it, I would suggest that Government should arrange to have it removed to the Museum at Bankipore, because the inscription is important from a historic point of view, being one of the three inscriptions of Kaikā'ūs whose name is omitted from the list of the rulers of Bengal, as given by Persian historians, and whose period of reign has been determined only by epigraphic and numismatic evidence.

The fact that Kaikā'ūs was a son of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd (Bughrā Khān) is recorded by Amīr Khusrāu in his well-known poem—*Qirānu-s-Sa'dain*; but the annals of Bengal of this period were apparently disregarded by the Delhi historians and the genealogy of the descendants of Bughra Khān (1282-91 A.D.) up to the accession of Ghiyāthu-d-dīn Bahadur (1319-30 A.D.) was constructed for the first time by Thomas from information contributed by Ibn-i-Batūta in collation with that supplied by coins and inscriptions.² The numismatic evidence places the reign of Kaikā'ūs between 691-702 A.H., while the inscriptions confirm him as the ruler of Bengal in 697 and 698 A.H.

Besides the name of Kaikā'ūs the inscription contains the name of Fīroz Aitigin³ and Ulugh Khān, who were governor and deputy-governor, respectively, of the extreme western districts of the kingdom of Bengal, as then constituted. Among the titles used with the names of Kaikā'ūs—

مالك رقاب الاسم مولی ملوک العرب والعجم صاحب التاج و الخاتم

frequently appear on the inscriptions of the early Turk Sultāns of Delhi,⁴ and *یمین خلیفۃ اللہ* and *سکندر الثانی* were used by Balban, the grandfather of Kaikā'ūs.⁵ The title used for Fīroz Aitigin is interesting, as it was used by the contemporary Delhi Sultān, 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khalji, and its assumption by a governor of Bengal seems to indicate that, at the time, the relations between the Delhi Court and the kings of Bengal were strained.

¹ Letter No. 3770-I, dated 21st September, 1918, from Rai Bahadur G. C. Bannerji, Officiating Collector, Monghyr, to the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle.

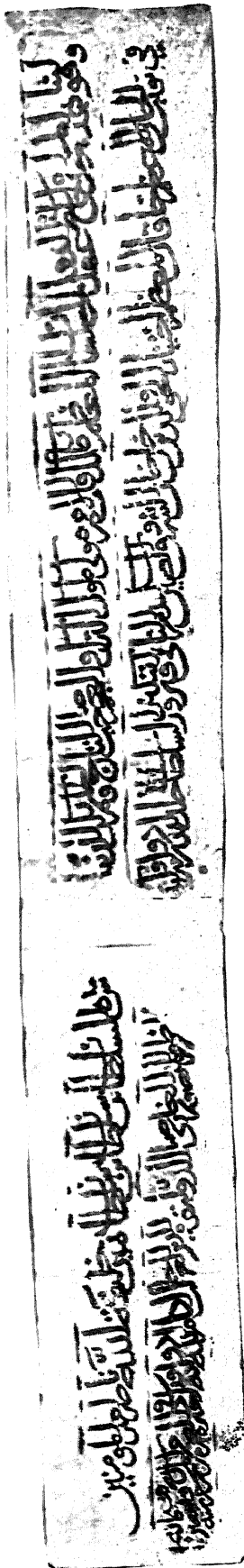
² *Chronicles of the Patān Kings*, pp. 146-48, and *Ibn-i-Batūta*, p. 128 (English translation).

³ *Aitigin*, full-moon.

⁴ *Chronicles*, pp. 9-10, and *E. I. M.*, 1911-12, pp. 16, 17, 22 and 23.

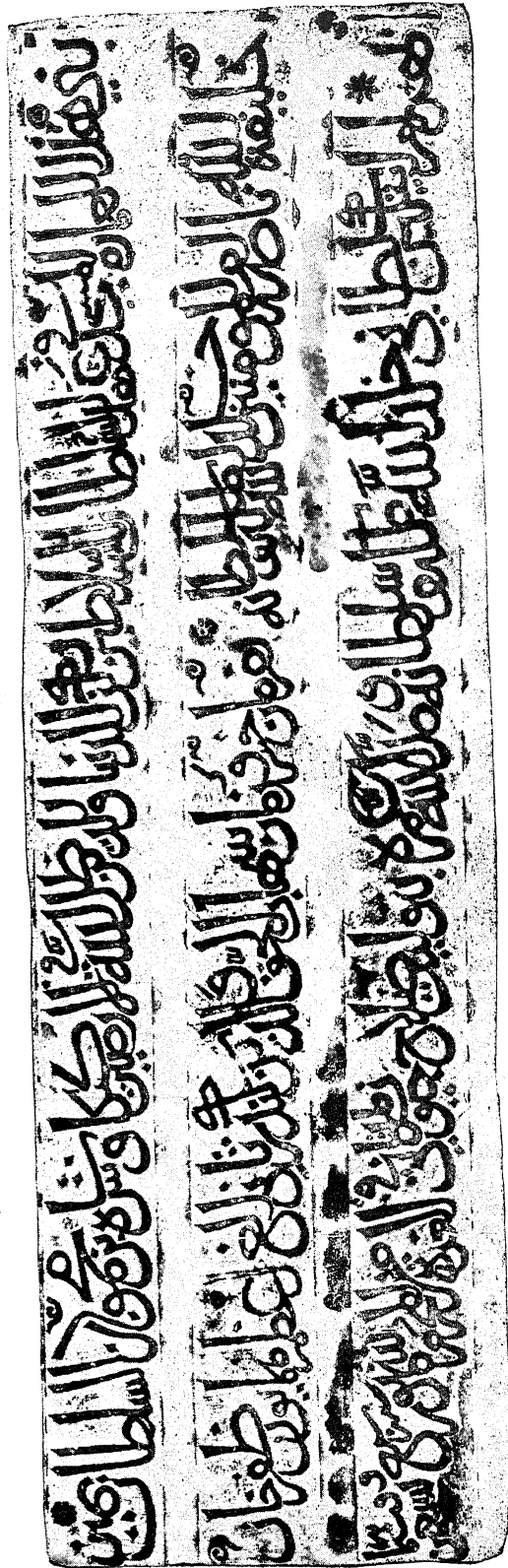
⁵ *E. I. M.*, 1913-14, p. 32, Pl. XIII b.

(a) Inscription on a broken slab lying on a grave at Lakhisuraj (Monghyr).



Scale '125

(b) Inscription in a mosque at Gangarampur (Dinajpur).



Scale '2

The inscription is written in fine *Naskh* characters and the language is Arabic. The slab on which the inscription is carved is broken in two parts near the middle, both the parts together measuring 6' 3" × 9". My reading of the inscription is as follows :—

PLATE XV (a).

(1) رفق¹ لبنا هذه المسجد الجامع في عهد الدولة السلطان المعظم مالک رقاب الامم
مولی ملوک التبرک والعجم صاحب التاج والخاتم رکن الدنيا [کیکار]س شاه السلطان بن سلطان
بن سلطان یمین خليفة الله ناصر امیر المومنین (2) في نوبت الخان الاعظم خاقان المعظم
اختیار الحق والدين خان خان الشرق والصين² سکندر الثاني فيروز ايتکين السلطاني خلد الله
دولته وابد المظفر المنصور الغازي ضيا الدولة والدين الخ خان ادام الله دولته
وزاد خيره في الغره من المحرم سنة سبع وتسعين و ستمائة ٥

TRANSLATION.

In the reign of the great Sultān, the master of the necks of nations, the king of the kings of Turks and Persians, the lord of the crown and the seal, Ruknu-d-dunya waddin Kaikā'ūs Shāh, the Sultān son of a Sultān (who was the) son of a Sultān, the right arm of the vicegerent of God, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful; and during the administration of the great Khān the exalted Khaqān, Ikhtiyāru-l-ḥaqq waddin, the Khān of the Khāns of the East and of China, the second Alexander, Firoz Aitigin as-Sultāni (the Royal slave), may God perpetuate his government and may God preserve the victorious, the triumphant, the conqueror (especially combating infidels), Zia'u-d-daula waddin Ulugh Khān, may God keep for ever his administration and increase his benevolence, (he, i.e. Ulugh Khān), was directed by God to build this assembly-mosque. On the first of Muḥarram 697 A.H. (Saturday, 19th October, 1297 A.D.).

II.—Inscription of King Kaikā'ūs of Bengal from Dinajpur District.

This inscription was first noticed by Buchanan in his *Historical Description of Dinajpur* (p. 51) and later by Thomas in the *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings* (p. 149), but to Blochmann belongs the credit of publishing the text of the inscription for the first time.³ The inscriptional slab is fixed into the wall of Mulla 'Ata's tomb at Devikot (25° 11' N. and 89° E.), in the Dinajpur District. Blochmann has confused Devikot with Gangārāmpūr, a place three miles south of it, and this is why Cunningham rather charily remarks :—"The tomb of Ata, and consequently all the inscriptions, are at Devikot, or Damdama, and not at Gangārāmpūr, as Blochmann was led to believe. Gangārāmpūr is 3 miles distant to the south and was formerly the Police station of the district, by which the civil officers are in the inconvenient habit of describing all places no matter how far distant."⁴ Devikot according to legend was the citadel of Bannagar, and Cunningham found brick walls and fragments of moulded bricks together with six stone pillars of Hindu workmanship there. In the times of the early Muslim rulers of Bengal, Devikot was an important outpost on the northern frontier of their kingdom and it was here that Bakhtiyār Khaljī died after his unsuccessful expedition into Tibet.⁵

¹ Blochmann could not decipher this word. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, p. 247.

² A title often used by governors at this time. *E. I. M.*, 1913-14, pp. 18, 23 and 30.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 102-104.

⁴ *Reports by Cunningham*, Vol. XV, p. 97.

⁵ *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 309-10.

The inscription records the erection of a mosque during the reign of Kaikā'ūs and the governorship of Zafar Khān Bahrām Aitigīn, under the superintendence of Ṣalāh Jiwand of Multan in 697 A.H. (1297 A.D.). Cunningham has observed that no trace of this building exists now. The tomb of 'Aīa and its adjuncts, referred to in three other inscriptions of the reigns of Sikandar Shāh (1358-89), Muẓaffar Shāh (1490-93) and Ḥusain Shāh (1493-1518), respectively (fixed into the wall of the tomb),¹ are evidently posterior in date to the mosque described in our inscription, which does not mention the name of 'Aīa. The titles of Kaikā'ūs in the inscription are somewhat brief; but it contains the name of his father Maḥmūd (Nāṣiru-d-dīn), instead of styling him *Sultān ibn-i-Sultān ibn-i-Sultān*, as in the Lakhisarai inscription. The mention of the real name, بهرام ایتگین, of Zafar Khān is interesting, as Mr. D. Money, in an article styled *The Temples of Trivenī near Hughli*, has narrated some curious legends about his origin and the events of his life.² The similarity of the name, بهرام ایتگین, to that of the contemporary governor of the western frontier of the kingdom of Bengal—فیروز ایتگین—may lead to the conclusion that they were brothers and governed the western half of the kingdom, Firoz Aitigīn ruling the westernmost districts, Monghyr, etc., and Bahrām the territory on the east of them, Dinajpur, Tribenī, etc. This inscription and the two epigraphs at Tribenī, which are noticed in this paper elsewhere (pp. 13 and 33), prove him to have been the governor of these districts from 697 to 713 A.H., and from the texts of these records he seems to have been fond of architecture, was a patron of learning, liberal, brave and a zealous Musalman. He was a Turk, a fact apparent from his name Aitigīn, a Turki word meaning 'beautiful moon.' The title—Sikandar Thānī—used for Firoz Aitigīn in the Lakhisarai inscription, has been used here for Bahrām Aitigīn, which supports the surmise noted above (p. 10) that at this time the attitude of the kings of Bengal towards the Sultāns of Delhi was one of rivalry and independence.

The name of the supervisor, Ṣalāh Jiwand, as observed by Blochmann, is somewhat unusual. 'Jiwan' without the final *dāl* is common; but the letter is quite distinct in the inscription. 'Jiwand' seems to be a corruption of 'Jiwan' in this case.

The inscription is in the Arabic language and written in *Naskh* characters. It comprises three lines and is cut on a tablet measuring 3' 5" × 1' 1". I read it as follows:—

PLATE XV (b).

(1) بُنِيَ هَذَا الْعِمَارَةُ الْمَسْجِدُ فِي عَهْدِ السُّلْطَانِ ٤ السُّلَاطِينِ رُكْنِ الدُّنْيَا وَالِدَيْنِ ظَلَّ إِلَهُ
فِي الْأَرْضَيْنِ كَيْكَوَسُ شَاهِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ بْنِ السُّلْطَانِ يَمِينِ (2) خَلِيفَةِ اللَّهِ نَاصِرِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
خَلْدِ الْمَلِكِ مُلْكِهِ وَرُسُلْطَانِهِ بِفَرْمَانِ خُسْرُو زَمَانِ شَهَابِ الْحَقِّ وَالِدَيْنِ سَكَنْدَرِ ثَانِيِ الْغِ اعْظَمِ هَمَائِينَ
ظَفَرِ خَانَ (3) بِهَرَامِ اِيتْگِينَ سُلْطَانِيِ خَلْدِ إِلَهُ مُلْكِهِ وَرُسُلْطَانِهِ وَرَمَدِ إِلَهُ عَمْرَةٍ بِتَرْلَيْتِ ٥ صَلاَحِ
جَيُودِ مِلَّتَانِي فِي الْغَرَةِ مِنَ الْمُحَرَّمِ شَهْرِ سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ وَتَسْعِينَ وَسِتْمِائَةٍ ٥

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 104-107.

² *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 395-96.

³ هَذَا is grammatically incorrect. It should have been هَذِهِ.

⁴ *Alif* and *lām* before *Sultān* are grammatically incorrect.

⁵ The word has been used in an identical sense in an inscription on the *Aḥḥāi dīn ka Jhonpra* at Ajmer. *E. I. M.*, 1911-12, p. 15, and *J. A. S. B.* for 1848.

TRANSLATION.

The building of this mosque was constructed during the reign of the king of kings, Ruknu-d-dunya waddīn, the shadow of God on all lands, Kaikā'ūs Shāh, son of Maḥmūd, son of the Sultān, the right arm of the vicegerent of God, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule!—by the order of the lord of his times Shihābu-l-ḥaqq waddīn, the second Alexander, the great, exalted, auspicious, Zafar Khān Bahram Aitigīn as-Sultāni—may God perpetuate his government and authority—and may God prolong his life!—under the supervision of Ṣalāh Jiwand of Multan. On the first of Muḥarram among the months of the year 697 A.H. (Saturday, 19th October, 1297 A.D.).

III.—Arabic inscription of King Kaikā'ūs in Zafar Khān's mosque at Tribeni (Hooghly District).

Tribeni (22° 59' N. and 88° 26' E.), which has now dwindled down into a village, was in ancient times an important town and a centre of Hindu learning. It derives its name from its situation at the junction of three streams, the Ganges, the Saraswatī and the Jamuna. After the advent of the Musalmāns in Bengal it assumed the name of Firozābad, which is still known among the Muslim population of the place. The people refer the last name to Sultān Firoz Shāh of Delhi; but Blochmann was right in connecting it with Firoz Shāh of Bengal, whose name is commemorated in an inscription in Zafar Khān's tomb at Tribeni.¹

Zafar Khān's mosque, on which the present Arabic inscription is carved, is built out of the materials of old Hindu temples and about its architecture Blochmann remarks:—"The low basalt pillars supporting the arches are unusually thick, and the domes, as in the Panduah mosque, are built of bricks, of successive rings of stones, the diameter of each layer being somewhat less than that of the layer below, the whole being capped by a circular stone, covering the small remaining aperture."²

The two historical names mentioned in the inscription are those of Zafar Khān and Kaikā'ūs to whom a reference has already been made in this paper (pp. 10-12). The inscription commemorates the establishment of a school which apparently formed the nucleus of the institution founded by Zafar Khān at Tribeni in 713 A.H.

The inscription is in Arabic verse and it is the oldest record of its kind in India. It consists of sixteen lines, of which Blochmann was able to decipher only two fully. It is, however, written in fine *Nasikh* style and, excepting the portions where the stone has decayed, the writing is quite legible. The literary style of the inscription is somewhat heavy, but still there are no grammatical mistakes, and the chronogram at the end is important, being the earliest example in the Muslim epigraphy of India.³

The mosque contains several inscriptions and our epigraph is cut in raised letters around the principal niche (Mihrāb) which is built in the pillar-and-lintel style. The inscription is divided into four parts—the religious text, with which it begins, is carved on a small tablet (13½" × 7½") fixed above the lintel of the niche; the first twelve verses are on the lintel (the written surface measuring 6' 8" × 13"), verses 13-14 on the right post (inscribed surface measuring 5' 5½" × 5½") and the last two verses, viz. 15-16, on the left post (the written surface measuring 5' 5½" × 5½").

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXIX, p. 282.

² *Ibid.*, p. 283.

³ Another chronogram, composed in a similar style, is given in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Bibl. Ind.), p. 246.

شد کوچ تمرخان و طغانخان ز جهان * او اول شب گذشت این آخر شب
آدینه و سلخ میاء شوال لقب * خ بود و س و د از تاریخ عرب

This chronogram, however, was not composed for an inscription.

I read the inscription as given below :—

PLATE II.

قال عليه السلام تعلموا العلم فان تعلمه للطاعة و طلبه عبادة

و مذكركه تسبيح

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|--------------------------------|
| (1) | لنصب دروس و اتخاذ مدارس | * | |
| (2) | يلقب بالبرهان قاضي المحاسن | * | سليمان القاضي النصير محمد |
| (3) | ليرضى به الرحمن عن كل دارس | * | وقد انفق الاموال في الدرس حسبة |
| (4) | لتدريس علم الشرع فوق الطنافس | * | فيرزق اهل الفضل من عرض ماله |
| (5) | لاظهار دين الله بين الغطاس | * | |
| (6) | به الشر ما لا يتقى بالتارس (؟) | * | ترس من الدرس يتقى |
| (7) | حكى عن عهد الجيم كل المجالس | * | بغوبة سلطان السلاطين عهده |
| (8) | يدرم له الدنيا درام الهواجس | * | ملاذ الورى ركن الدني كيكارس |
| (9) | تبدي ظفر خان هزبر العنايس | * | |
| (10) | و شيد بناء الخير بعد الدارس | * | بفتح بلاد الهند في كل ركضة |
| (11) | وبذل كنوز المال في كل بائس | * | وقلع علوج الكفر بالسيف والقنا |
| (12) | بتلخيص برهان العلوم الفرائس | * | واحلى بقاع الشرع من بعد ميته |
| (13) | لتثبيت ايمان اوان الحنادس | * | فبرجو من الفقهاء بانيه دعوة |
| (14) | و برر احسان لاهل القلانس | * | جز الله خيرا انه محض رحمة |
| (15) | لأعلاء اعلام العلم العمالس | * | و تعظيم علماء الشريعة جملة |
| (16) | رخاء حروف الرفق حسبان قالس ¹ | * | بتاريخ حاء من سنين و صاها |

TRANSLATION.

He (Prophet Muhammad), may peace be upon him, has said :—

You should acquire knowledge, for its acquisition is verily submission, its search is devotion, its discussion is glorification

(1) to institute lectures and to establish schools.

(2) The offspring of Qāzis, an-Nasir Muhammad, who for (the strength of) his argument is styled Qāzi, the tiger.

(3) He has spent large sums of money on education for the sake of God; so that the Merciful One may be pleased through his (Qāzi's) munificence with every student.

¹ The metre of these lines is *Tawīl*.

(4) From his private money he grants subsistence to men of learning, besides providing them with carpets, (and these facilities are) for the inculcation of the Muslim law.

(5) to manifest the Divine faith among the haughty.

(6) Through education a shield that can avert such evils as cannot be avoided with the help of a shield-bearer.

(7) In the reign of the Sultān of Sultāns, whose government has revived the memory of all the assemblies of Jamshed's time.

(8) The refuge of mankind, the prop of the world, Kaikā'ūs, may the world last for him as long as ideas occur in the mind !

(9) Zafar Khan, the lion of lions, has appeared.

(10) By conquering the towns of India in every expedition, and by restoring the decayed charitable institutions.

(11) And he has destroyed the obdurate among infidels with his sword and spear, and lavished the treasures of his wealth in (helping) the miserable.

(12) And he has revived the institutions of the faith, after its destruction,¹ by selecting arguments based on intuitive knowledge.

(13) The builder expects blessing from such as are learned in the law for the protection of his faith at the time of intense darkness (the darkness or the grave of death).

(14) May God reward him (the builder), for he is all mercy, and benevolence and bounty to the wearers of *qalansūa* (pious persons).²

(15) And (he has the utmost) respect for all the learned in the faith, in order to elevate the standards of scholars and the virtuous.³

(16) (The school was built) in the year obtainable from the letters *ح*, *ص*, *اد* and *خ*, the numerical value of which (8+90+600) tallies with the calculation of the chronologist. 1298 A.D.

IV-V.—Inscriptions on the Hammālon ki Masjid at Hansi (Hissar District).

These inscriptions, which are two in number, have not been published before and their rubbings were found in the posthumous papers of the late Maulawī Muḥammad Shu'aib. They are cut on two red sandstone slabs which are fixed into the spandrels of the central *mihrab* of Hammālon ki Masjid at Hansi. This mosque is a small, modern structure and has no pretension to any architectural merit. It comprises a courtyard and a prayer-hall—the latter has three arched openings and measures 30' 5" × 9' 6". The inscriptions, like several others of Hansi, are not in their original position, the reason of this disorder, as already pointed out by me in a previous issue of this Journal,⁴ being that the Fort of Hansi was dismantled in 1857 and the materials were sold. The purchasers subsequently set up the sculptured fragments and inscribed tablets in an indiscriminate manner according to their fancy.

Both the records are fragmentary, but the titles of the Sultān ('Alā'u-d-dīn), the date and a portion of the genealogy of the builder are preserved. The language is Arabic and the style of writing is a plain *Naskh*, the letters being quite legible where the stone is not broken. The

¹ Cf. *لَنُحْيِيَنَّ بِهِ بَلَدًا مَّتَابًا* (*Qur'ān*, Chap. XXV, verse 49).

² *Qalansūa*, a close fitting cap used by the companions of the Prophet.

³ *Amallus*, the name of a pious and kind-hearted person who carried his mother on his back for the pilgrimage.

⁴ *E. I. M.*, 1913-14, p. 17.

inscriptional tablets in their present condition are of a uniform size and each of them measures 20" x 14". I read the texts thus:—

PLATE III (a).

- (1) طان السلاطين في العالم
 (2) ث ملك سليمان سكندر الثاني
 (3) ر سلطانه في التاريخ
 (4) المحرم سنة ثمان وتسعين وستمائة ٥

TRANSLATION.

. the Sultān of the Sultāns of the world,
 the heir to the kingdom of Solomon, the second Alexander
 and his sovereignty! On the Muharram 698 A.H. (October, 1298 A.D.).

PLATE III (b).

- (1) الرحمن الرحيم قال
 (2) مفحص قذة¹ بنى الله له بيتا
 (3) نا . . . علي بن محمد بن . . . محمد بن عبد . . .
 (4) بن فضل بن ربيع رحمة الله عليهم

TRANSLATION.

. most Merciful and Compassionate. Said
 as the nest of a sand-grouse, God buildeth a house for him 'Ali
 son of Muhammad son of son of Muhammad son of 'Abd son of
 Fazl, son of Rabi', may the mercy of God be upon them!

VI.—Inscription of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khalji from Sahiswān (Budaun).

The earliest mention of Sahiswān occurs in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, but its close proximity to Budaun (18 miles west) does not preclude the possibility of its fort, which legend attributes to a Hindu raja, being an important stronghold during the rule of the early Sultāns of Delhi. 'Alā'u-d-dīn, as a prince, was governor of Budaun, and when, after his uncle Jalālu-d-dīn's murder, he marched from Kara, he passed through Budaun, where his force was largely increased, amounting to fifty-six thousand horse and sixty thousand foot.² In the early part of his reign the fief of Budaun was conferred on 'Umar Khān, who subsequently, taking advantage of the Sultān's absence from the capital during the siege of Rantambhor, broke out in revolt. The Sultān sent some officers to quench the rebellion and before 'Umar Khān could effect anything he was taken prisoner and punished.

The inscription is dated 700 A.H. (1300 A.D.), about the time that 'Umar Khān's revolt subsided, and records the building of a strong fort by the order of 'Alā'u-d-dīn. The inscriptional tablet is now in the Jāmi' Masjid at Sahiswān (Qāzī Muḥalla),³ with which it apparently

¹ The correct spelling of the word is قُذَّة.

² *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 158.

³ *Kanzu-i-tariḥ* by Raziu-d-dīn, pp. 95-6 (Nizāmī Press, Budaun, 1907).

(c) Inscription in Ikhtiyaru-d-Daulah's tomb, Cambay.



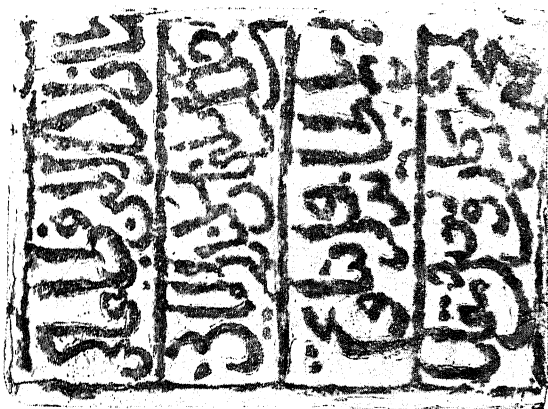
Scale '11

(b) Inscription on the right side of the central Mihrab, Hammalon-ki-Masjid, Hansi.



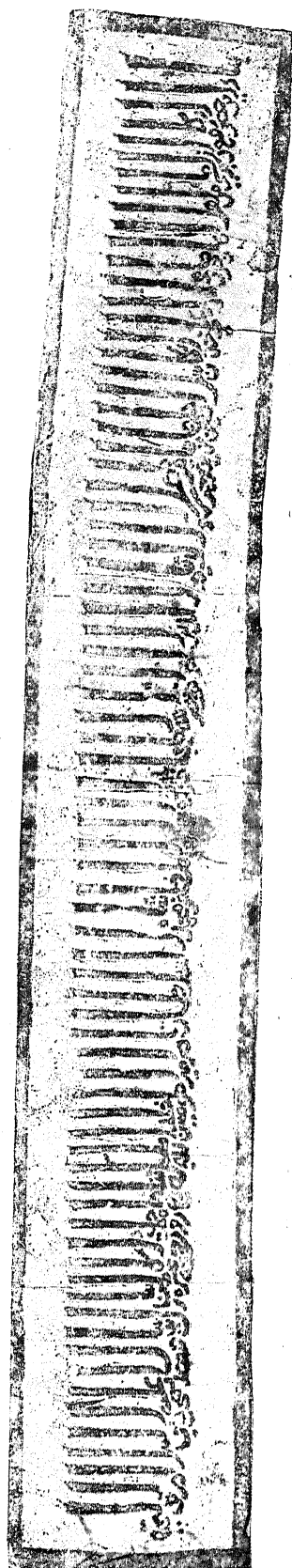
Scale '162

(a) Inscription on the left side of the central Mihrab, Hammalon-ki-Masjid, Hansi.



Scale '162

(a) Inscription in the old Jami' Masjid, Sahiswan (Budaun).



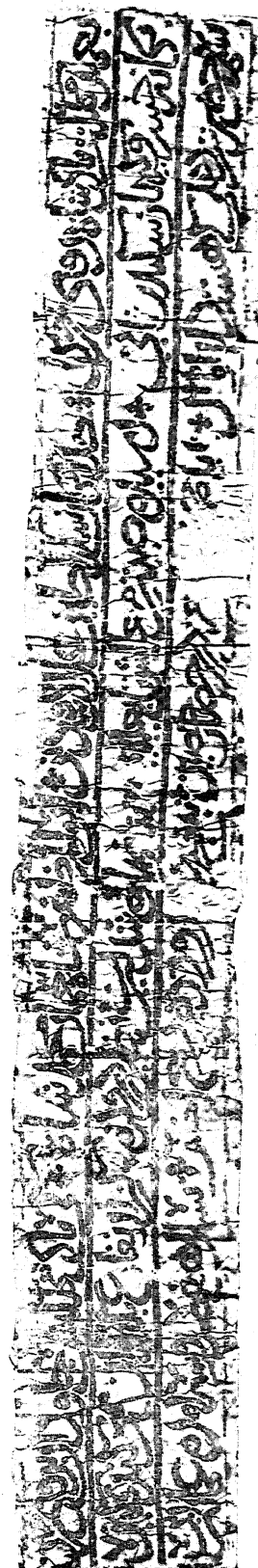
Scale '125

(b) Inscription in Sayyid's Dargah, Bangarmau (Unao, U. P.).



Scale '2

(c) Inscription on the Barsi Gate, Hansi.



Scale '08

has no connection, and seems to have been brought from the local fort after it had fallen into ruins.

The style of writing is interesting from a palæographic point of view, showing a tendency of arranging the *Naskh* characters in such a manner as to produce a decorative effect—the beginning of the *Tughra* style. Here the artist has made all such letters as have a vertical stroke at their beginnings or at their ends prominent by arranging them in a series of lines like a row of arrows. A most beautiful example of this device is the Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh inscription of Gaur, dated 863 A.H.¹

The language of the inscription is Persian and it consists of one line only. The inscribed portion of the tablet measures 5' 9" × 11". I read the text thus:—

PLATE IV (a).

بناء ابن حصن رفيع ارکان . . . مامن اهل ایمان بفرمان مجلس اعلیٰ خدادیگان
سلطین جهان سایه رحمت بزدان علاء الدنیا و الدین الواثق بذصر الله المجاهد فی سبیل الله
ابر المظفر محمد شاه السلطان ناصر امیر المومنین خلد الله ملکه بتاریخ روز جمعه غره ماه
جمادی الاولی . . . سال هفصد از هجرت نبی علیه السلام و التحیة ①

TRANSLATION.

This fort with lofty pillars . . . , the refuge of the Faithful, was built by the order of His exalted Majesty (lit., presence) the lord of the Sultāns of the world, the shadow of Divine mercy, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, the king trusting in Divine help, the warrior for God's sake, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom! On Friday the 1st of Jumada I, 700 years after the 'migration' of the Prophet, may peace and blessings be upon him! (13th January, 1301 A.D.)

VII.—Inscription in Jalālu-d-dīn 'Alī's tomb at Bangarmau (Unao District).

Bangarmau has been identified by Cunningham and some other writers with Na-po-ti-po-ku-lo of Hiuen Tsiang, on account of its having in its neighbourhood a number of ancient mounds called Nawal.² In the history of the Islamic period we find no reference to it till the reign of Ibrāhīm Lodī, when certain nobles from the Imperial Court, while proceeding to Lucknow, were ambuscaded and defeated near Bangarmau by the troops of Prince Āḡam Ḥumāyūn, who was then in prison in Agra.³

The inscription is referred to by Cunningham, who has given only the date of it, and the text and a translation of it are being published for the first time. A new fact discovered by the decipherment of the inscription is that it gives the name of the saint, whose death it records, as Jalālu-d-dīn 'Alī b. 'Āyam, while Cunningham calls him 'Alā'u-d-dīn bin Ḡhanaun, which is supported by local tradition. It appears that in the beginning some one deciphered the name of the saint wrongly and the mistake committed by him was not rectified afterwards.

The tomb of the saint is a small structure of the early Pathan style comprising a square chamber (16' 3" each way) surmounted by a dome, and a double hall in front of it. The inscription is carved over the entrance door of the tomb and measures 3' 7½" × 6".

¹ *J. A. S. B.* for 1873, Pl. V.

² *Reports*, Vol. XI, pp. 48-53.

³ *Elliot*, Vol. V, p. 15.

The style of writing is *Naskh* with a distinct tendency towards *Tughra*, and the language is Arabic. I read the inscription thus :—

PLATE IV (b).

... الدنيا المجتهد الاجل الكبير العالم الفاضل المبجل المخيف جلال
الحق والدين علي ابن عايم السمساسطي قدس سره ورحل رحمه الى جوار رحمة الله تعالى
الثاني عشر من ربيع الاول سنة اثني وسبع مائة ٥

TRANSLATION.

... the world, the warrior, great and exalted, the *savant* accomplished, profound and awe-inspiring, Jalālu-l-ḥaqq waddīn 'Alī bin 'Āyam of Sumaisāt,¹ may his grave be hallowed and may his soul be taken into the neighbourhood of Divine mercy! On the 12th of Rabī' I in the year 702 A.H. (Sunday, 4th November, 1302 A.D.).

VIII.—Inscription on the Barsī Gate, Hansi.

This inscription has been noticed in the *P. A. S. B.*, 1877 (p. 122), but the facsimile is now being published for the first time. It is carved on the Barsī Gate of Hansi and records the building of a lofty gate by 'Alā'u-d-dīn in 703 A.H. (1303 A.D.). The script is a vigorous *Naskh* peculiar to the period of the early Sultāns of Delhi. The inscription is interesting from a literary point of view, being the oldest epigraph in Persian verse in India.² It consists of six verses which are carved in three lines on the stone.

The inscriptional tablet measures 9' x 1' 7". My reading is given below :—

PLATE IV (c).

- (1) بعهد مملکت بادشاه روی زمین * خدایگان سلاطین علاء دنیا و دین
- (2) ابر المظفر شاه جهان محمد شاه * کی باد مملکتش جاردان بروی زمین
- (3) یگانه خسرو گیهان سکندر ثانی * رسیده صیت معاليس تا به علیین
- (4) بنا نهاده شد این بی نظیر دروازه * کز ارتفاع بکیوان همی کند تمکین
- (5) بنمت حضرت دهلي کی همت دارالملک * در حصار حصین
- (6) پینچ شنبه ر روز دهم ربيع آخر * بسال هفصد و سه آمده عمارت این⁴

TRANSLATION.

(1) In the reign of the king of the universe (lit., face of the earth), the lord of rulers, Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn.

¹ Sumaisāt, a town on the bank of the Euphrates.

² Nizāmu-d-dīn writes (*Tabaqāt*, ed. Lucknow, p. 29) that Malik Taju-d-dīn Rizā composed a Rubā'i on the conquest of the Fort of Gwalior (633 A.H.) which was carved there. A search has been made for the inscription, but no trace of it is to be found.

³ The stone is broken here.

⁴ The metre of these lines is *Hazaj*.

(a) Inscription in the Qazi's Mosque, Bayana.



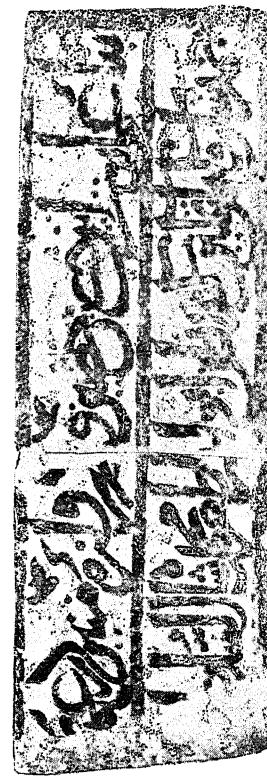
Scale '25

(b) Inscription in the Jami' Masjid, Alapur (Budaun).



Scale '09

(c) Inscription on a slab fixed to the ground near the grave of Shah Ihtishamul-Haq, outside the old Hisari Gate, Hansi.



Scale '071

- (2) Abu-l-Muzaffar, the king of the world Muḥammad Shāh, may his kingdom last for ever on the face of the earth !
- (3) The unrivalled monarch of the world, the second Alexander, the fame of whose noble deeds has reached the highest heaven.
- (4) (He) built this matchless gate which, in loftiness, surpasses Saturn (the keeper of the seventh heaven).
- (5) Facing the exalted city of Delhi, which is the seat of the kingdom in the strong fort.
- (6) It was Thursday, the 2nd of Rabi' II, 703 A.H. (14th November, 1303 A.D.), when this building was completed.

IX.—Inscription of 'Alā'u-d-dīn found outside the old Hisari Gate of Hansi.

The inscriptional tablet is not *in situ*, but it is now fixed to the ground near the grave of Shāh Iḥtishāmu-l-Ḥaqq, outside the old Hisari Gate of Hansi. The epigraph is fragmentary, as the tablet seems to have broken some time ago in several pieces, only two of which exist at present; these have been joined and fixed to the ground. The broken pieces jointly measure 4' 6" × 1' 7".

The inscription records the erection of a strong fort and gateway by 'Alā'u-d-dīn at Hansi. This record is probably of the same period as the Barsi Gate inscription of Hansi, 703 A.H. (*ante*, p. 18), which also mentions the fact that the fortifications of Hansi were rebuilt by 'Alā'u-d-dīn.¹

The style of writing is a bold *Naskh* and the language is Persian. My reading of the text is as follows :—

PLATE V (c).

- (1) بڼاء عمارت ایں حصن حصین و دروازہ متین در عهد
- (2) جم نشان و سلیمان تمکین سکندر الثانی ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلط

TRANSLATION.

This strong fort and massive gateway were built in the reign with Jamshīd's dignity and Solomon's glory, the second Alexander, Abu-l-Muzaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān²

X.—Inscription on the Qāzī's Mosque at Bayana.

Cunningham has given the text and a translation of the inscription, which are defective in some respects owing to his unfamiliarity with Arabic, the language in which the inscription is composed.³ It is carved on a stone tablet (1' 9½" × 1' 6½") fixed over the entrance door of the Qāzī's Mosque at Bayana.⁴ The mosque is a small structure comprising a hall supported on six pillars, a small court and an entrance door.

The style of writing is *Naskh*, the letters being bold, but somewhat rough in finish. The inscription records the reconstruction of a mosque and a well in the reign of 'Alā'u-d-dīn by

¹ No doubt, 'Alā'u-d-dīn fortified Hansi as an outpost against the Mughals between 702-3 A.H. See *P. A. S. B.* for 1877, p. 124, Inscription VI.

² The text and a translation of the inscription were published in *E. I.*, Vol. II (p. 434), by Dr. P. Horn.

³ *Reports*, Vol. XX, p. 76.

⁴ For the history of Bayana see Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XX, pp. 60-63.

'Abdu-l-Malik b. Abū Bakr al-Bukhārī, entitled *Mughithu-d-din*. Baranī (Persian text, p. 353) gives the name of Qāzī *Mughithu-d-din* in the list of divines and scholars who adorned the court of 'Alā'u-d-din. He writes about them as follows :—

در تمامی عصر علایی در دارالملک دهلی علمای بودند که آنچنان استادان که هر یکی
علامه وقت و در بخارا و در سمرقند و بغداد و مصر و خوارزم و دمشق و تبریز و صفهان و ری و
روم و در ربع مسکون نباشند و در هر علمی که فرض کنند از منقولات و معقولات و تفسیر و فقه و
اصول فقه و معقولات و اصول دین و نحو و لفظ و لغت و معانی و بدیع و بیان و کلام و منطق
و هر سالی چندین طالبان علم از آن استادان سرآمده بدرجه افادت میرسیدند
و مستحق جوادان فتوی می شدند - و بعضی از آن استادان در فنون علم و کمالات علوم
بدرجه غزالی و رازی رسیده بودند - چنانکه قاضی فخرالدین ناقله و قاضی شرف الدین سرباهی
و مولانا نصیرالدین غنی و مولانا تاج الدین مقدم و مولانا ظهیر الدین لنگ و قاضی
مغیث الدین بیانه الخ

I read the inscription as given below :—

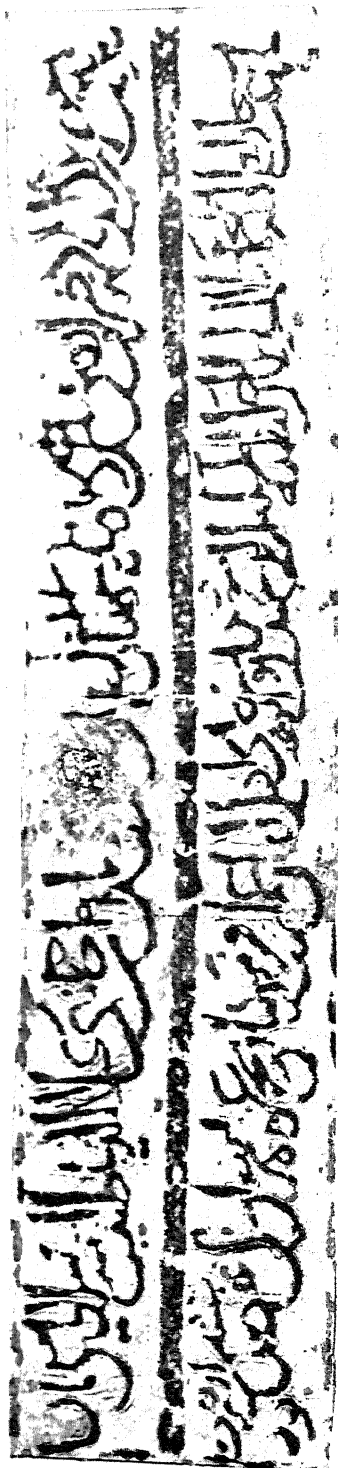
PLATE V (a).

(1) قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجداً لله تعالى و لو كمثلاً مفحص قطاة (2) بنى
الله له بيتاً في الجنة بحكم هذا الخبر بنى و جدد عمارة هذا المسجد و البئر (3) بعد
ما اندرستا و ابدع بعد ما انطمستا في عهد سلطنت اعلى سلاطين العرب والعجم صاحب (4) التاج
و الخاتم ظل الله في العالم علا الدنيا و الدين غوث الاسلام (5) و المسلمين المس... الى الله
سكندر الثاني... اهل الايمان ابى المظفر محمد شاه السلطان (6) لا زالت
اعلام دوله مذكورة مذكورة اضعف عباد الله الباري عبد الملك بن ابى بكر
(7) البخاري الملقب بمغيث الدين... تقبل الله منه في الغرة من المحرم
سنة خمس و سبعمائه ☉

TRANSLATION.

The Prophet—may peace be upon him!—has said : *Whoever buildeth a mosque for God even if it is (as small) as the nest of a sand-grouse, God buildeth a house for him in Paradise.* According to this saying of the Prophet, the buildings of this mosque and this well were constructed and repaired after they had decayed, and were renewed after they had fallen into ruins, in the reign of the most exalted among the Sultāns of Arabia and non-Arab countries, the lord of the crown and the seal, the shadow of God in the world, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddin, the defence of Islām and the Muslims, . . . towards God, the second Alexander . . . of the Faithful, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muhammad Shāh, the Sultān—may the banners of his kingdom ever remain triumphant and unfurled!—by the humblest servant of God, the Creator, 'Abdu-l-Malik bin Abū Bakr al-Bukhārī, entitled *Mughithu-d-Din* . . . may God accept his prayer! On the first of Muḥarram 705 A.H. (Saturday, 24th July, 1305 A.D.).

(a) Inscription in the Dini Masjid, Rohtak.



Scale '142

(b) Firoz Shah Inscription of Bihar dated 709 A. H.



Scale '125

XI.—Inscription in the Jāmi' Masjid at Alāpur (Budaun).

Alāpur (27° 55' N., 79° 15' E.) is a small town in the Dātāganj Tahsil of the Budaun District. According to a legend, it was founded by 'Alā'u-d-dīn 'Ālam Shāh (1445-1451 A.D.) of the Lodi dynasty, who, after his abdication of the throne of Delhi, stayed at Budaun for the rest of his life (d. 1478 A.D.). But the presence of this inscription, dated 707 A.H. (1307 A.D.), coupled with the fact that 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khaljī was governor of Budaun before his accession to the throne, may induce one to surmise that Alāpur was named after that Sulṭān.

The inscription is fragmentary and it has been noticed in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLI, p. 112. The inscriptional tablet in its present condition measures 2' 3½" × 9". The name of the builder unfortunately occurs just where the stone is broken and therefore cannot be deciphered; but his official designation—Dād Bek (Master of Justice)—is preserved. The style of writing is *Naskh* with an attempt at ornamentation.

I read the inscription as follows :—

PLATE V (b).

... دَاد بَك بِخَطِّ بَدَاوُن فِي الْمَنَاصِفِ مِنْ رَبِيعِ الْأَوَّلِ سَنَةِ سَبْعِ ر
سَبْعِمِائَةٍ ٥

TRANSLATION.

... son of Dād Bek (Master of Justice) in the province of Budaun. In the middle of Rabi' I, 707 A.H. (September, 1307 A.D.).

XII.—Inscription on the Dīnī Masjid at Rohtak.

Mr. Zafar Hasan, Assistant Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, has been kind enough to furnish me with the following note on the Dīnī Masjid¹ :—

"The mosque is of early Pathan style and comprises a hall measuring 60' × 22' 3" internally, and a courtyard 55' × 45' 3". The hall is divided into three apartments and has a flat roof, which is supported on pillars of grey sandstone. The carvings on the pillars show Hindu workmanship and they may have originally belonged to an old temple. The inscription is engraved in two lines, on a grey stone slab (4' 6" × 1' 2") fixed over the central Mihrab of the mosque."

The inscriptional tablet is much worn out and some words are absolutely illegible: fortunately, however, the name of the king and the date are fairly distinct. Dr. P. Horn has published the text and a translation of the inscription; but they are defective in more than one place.²

The style of writing is *Naskh* and the language is Persian. I have deciphered the text as follows :—

PLATE VI (a).

(1) بَتَوَفِيقِ حَضْرَتِ بَزْدَانِ حَامِي مِلَتِ حِجَازِي عَلَا الدِّينِ وَالدين
سلاطين (2) اَبُو الْمَظْفَرِ مُحَمَّدُ شَاهُ السُّلْطَانِ خَلَدُ اللّٰه مَلِكُهُ اَبِي مَعْبُدِ
مُومِنَانِ رَنْزَقَةُ جَاى اَهْلِ اِيْمَانِ عِمَارَتِ فَرْمُودِ بَتَارِيخِ غَرَّةِ مَاهِ رَمَضَانَ سَالِ هَفْصَدِ وَ هَشْتِ
از هَجْرَتِ بَرْدِ ٥

¹ The name *Dīnī* is somewhat unusual as all mosques are for religious worship. *Dīnī* may be a corruption of *Adina*.
² *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 436.

TRANSLATION.

By the grace of Almighty God, the defender of the faith of Hijāz, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddin kings Abu-l-Muzaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—this place of worship of the Faithful and the recreation place of the true believers was built. On the 1st of Ramazān 708 A.H. (Wednesday, 12th February, 1309 A.D.).

XIII.—Inscription of Firoz Shāh of Bengal, dated 709 A.H., from Bihar.

This inscription was *in situ* in the time of Blochmann, who noticed it on a lofty gateway which, together with an arched hall and a roofless mosque, formed the remains of what tradition called Ḥaṭim Khān's palace.¹ Blochmann found the gateway in a dilapidated state and it apparently fell down shortly afterwards, but the inscriptional slab is still at Bihar, and through the kindness of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, I was furnished with a couple of very distinct rubbings of the inscription.

The epigraph is of importance from more points of view than one. To the students of history it may appeal as giving the information that King Firoz Shāh of Bengal, besides the four sons mentioned by Thomas (*Chronicles*, p. 148), had another son, Ḥaṭim Khān, and that his kingdom included Bihar, which facts are not given in contemporary Persian histories. To the archæologist it may be of interest as keeping the permanent record of a building, which has been obliterated by the destroying hand of Time; but it is of the greatest importance to the epigraphist for its exquisite style of writing. The script is a combination of the *Naskh* and *Tughra* styles, and the artist has shown great command in the drawing of vertical lines and curves which, although very precise and crisp, are free from conventional restrictions. This writing, when compared with the contemporary writings on the 'Alā'i Darwazāh at Delhi, discloses the fact that the keynote of Bengal style from the beginning was delicacy and refinement, while the aim of the Delhi art under the early Sultāns was strength and grandeur.

The tablet on which the inscription is carved measures 5' x 1' 8". My reading of the text is given below:—

PLATE VI (b).

(1) بنى هذه العمارة المزیدة فی عهد السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين ابی المظفر
فیروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه (2) و نوبة ایالة الخان العادل البازل الغازی
تاج الحق و الدين حاتم خان ابن السلطان خلد الله ملكه العبد الضعیف محمد حسن بیکتروری
فی شهر سنة تسع و سبعمائه ٥٠٠

TRANSLATION.

This additional building was constructed during the reign of the great Sultān, Shamsu-d-dunya waddin Abu-l-Muzaffar Firoz Shāh, the Sultān—may God perpetuate his kingdom and authority!—and during the governorship of the just and benevolent Khān, the warrior (for the sake of God), Taju-l-Haqq² waddin Ḥaṭim Khān, son of the Sultān (Firoz Shāh)—may God ever keep his kingdom!—by the frail servant Muḥammad Ḥasan Bektrurī³ in the months of the year 709 A.H. (1309 A.D.).

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 249.

² Blochmann could not read this title.

³ Blochmann read بیکتروری which is not convincing.

XIV-XXIII.—Inscriptions on the 'Alā'i Darwazāh at Maihraulī (Quṭb), Delhi.

These inscriptions were edited for the first time by the late Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan in his well-known work, *Āthāru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, and subsequently their English translations were published in the *Archæology of Delhi* by Mr. Carr Stephen. Sir Sayed's readings, as usual, are accurate in the main and the slight mistakes, which have occurred, are probably due to the disadvantage which he had of deciphering them either from the stone direct, on which the letters being carved in relief are not easily legible, or from the tracings, which unfortunately were not prepared according to the scientific methods which have been introduced since his time.

The superb gateway, on which the inscriptions are carved, was built by 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khaljī in 710 A.H. It is a fine specimen of Pathan architecture and, in the words of Fergusson, "displays the Pathan style at its period of greatest perfection."¹ The gateway is in the south cloister of 'Alā'u-d-dīn's extension to the Mosque at Quṭb (Quwwatu-l-Islām) and was probably the city entrance of this religious edifice. Mr. Carr Stephen has given a detailed description of the gateway, which I give below :—

"The building is a square $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet inside and $56\frac{1}{2}$ feet outside, the walls being 11 feet thick ; from the inner floor to the dome ceiling it is about 47 feet high. The mode in which the square plan of the building is changed into an octagon which supports the dome 'is more simply elegant and appropriate,' says Fergusson, 'than any other example I am acquainted with in India,' the corners are ornamented with a series of arched niches which cut off the angles of the square. On each side of the gateway there is a lofty door ; but the doors in the eastern and western sides of the building are lower than those in its northern and southern sides. On the southern side the building has a plinth very nearly 10 feet high, with seven steps in the centre leading to it. The doorways are most elaborately ornamented ; each door is formed by a pointed horse-shoe arch, of which the outer end is panelled ; the inner edge, which goes a few inches deeper into the arch, is decorated with stone spear-heads ; the arch springs from slender ornamented pillars with plain imposts. The outer face of the arch, as well as the inner arch, which is formed after a recess of four inches, and the rectangular bands which enclose the arched doorways bear inscriptions which in some places have been injured by time. The whole face of the building is elaborately ornamented with delicate chiselling, of which not the least attractive features are the bands of inscriptions. On each side of the doorway there are two windows about a third of its size, but of the same shape and style ; these windows are covered with marble screens of lattice work ; the off windows are a little smaller than the near ones and their lattice work is closer and finer. Above these windows, the wall is decorated with small ornamental false arches in panels which, from a distance, have the appearance of small windows in groups of fours, the two vertical of each group being enclosed in oblong marble bands. The rectangular bands of red sandstone and marble which enclose the arches of the windows and the small false arches above them, are covered with verses from the Quran and the Hadis of Muhammad artistically engraved. The spandrel, as usual, is a mass of fret work, wreaths and ornamental bosses in red sandstone. The upper portion of the southern face of the gateway was repaired by Major Smith, but no attempt was made to restore the stone ornaments. The interior walls of the gateway are profusely decorated with the most perfect specimens of elaborate carvings ; the chequered pattern is simply elegant, or, as Fergusson calls it, 'of unrivalled excellence' The large dome is remarkably plain, Fergusson considers it 'by no means worthy of the sub-structure' ; but its interior view is by no means disagreeable, its plainness notwithstanding ; from outside, the dome looks rather low. The outer walls of the gateway were crowned with a battlemented parapet ; that on the southern wall was removed during Major Smith's time."²

¹ *History of Indian Architecture* (revised edition), Vol. II, p. 210.

² *Archæology of Delhi*, pp. 54-57.

The style of writing of the inscriptions is in perfect harmony with the general style of the building, bold and vigorous in conception and most elegant in execution. The beautiful form of the letters, their large size (1' 6" in height) and fine arrangement, about which the poet Khusrau most appropriately remarked—"and upon the surface of the stones he engraved the verses of the Kūrān in such a manner as could not be done on wood; ascending so high that you would think the Kūrān was going up to heaven, and again descending, in another line, so low that you would think it was coming down from heaven"¹—all bear testimony to the fact that Pathan artistic genius at this period was at its zenith. The script is a *Naskh*, showing a tendency towards ornamentation which subsequently developed into the delicate and subtle *Tughra* characters.

The language is Persian; but it has a large admixture of Arabic phrases, so much so that in some sentences if a few words be eliminated, the language will become Arabic. In a previous article on the inscriptions of the early Sultāns of Delhi² I have remarked that, during their reign, Arabic was considered to be a more dignified language for mural writings than Persian, and, when the latter language was used, it was largely embellished with phrases of Arabic construction.

As regards the titles of 'Alā'u-d-dīn, whose name is commemorated in these inscriptions, Thomas has observed, "There are some incidents in 'Alā'ud-dīn's story which more nearly concern these numismatic chronicles, such as his assumption of the title of the second Alexander, and a notion entertained of a new religion, of which he was to be the oracle, both of which items are testified to by the coins." 'Alā'u-d-dīn's instinctive desire for conquest may have led him to adopt the title of the second Alexander; but we find no indication of his ambition to found a new religion by the legends on his coins.³ The fact of his having such aspirations has, of course, been recorded by Barani; but how Thomas could find it authenticated by his coins is a mystery. The titles given in the inscriptions prove to the contrary the fact that he was a staunch Musalman, following the faith of Abu Ḥanifa.

I read the inscriptions on the eastern doorway thus:—

PLATE VII.

On the right pier.

بناء این بقعه شریف و اساس این عمارت منیف بود در عهد سلطنت و ایام مملکت
خدا یگان سلاطین جهان خسرو دارا نشان سلطان [ن کا] مل عدل⁴ وافر احسان شهنشاه شامل توفیق⁵
نافذ فرمان معلی منابر اسلام محیی آثار احکام بذنی منابر مساجد طاعات رافع اساس معابد
عبادات عامر بلاد هدایت غامر دیار غرایت باهی بفرق علا و تاج سلطنت داهی با قصر اعتلاء و
کرسی مملکت مظهر قوانین جهاد مبرهن براهین اجتهاد ضابط بلاد جها . .

On the left pier.

. . . لاطین رافع بناء محراب و منابر اسلام کسر اساس صوامع اصنام ناصب قواعد خیرات
خادض⁶ حوائیت مسکرات بادشاه کشور کشای سایه رحمت خدای مرید بتائید یزدان

¹ *History of India* by H. Elliot, Vol. III, p. 69.

² *E. I. M.*, 1913-14, p. 14.

³ *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 38-43.

⁴ Sayed Ahmad has left out this word. *Ālā'ār* (Cawnpore ed.), Appendix, p. 85.

⁵ This word also has been omitted by Sayed Ahmad. *Idem*, p. 86.

⁶ Sayed Ahmad read this word as حافظ.

ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله ملكه في عمارت المساجد
 وابد¹ سلطانه في انارة المعابد و ابقاه في المملكة و الخلافة مدي الدنيا ما تليت
 سورة سبحان الذي اسرى بعبد له ليلا من المسجد الحرام الى المسجد الاقصى ☉ في التاريخ
 في الخامس عشر من شوال سنة عشر و سبعمائة² ☉

On the outer arch.

بفرمان برگزیده حضرت رحمة ضابط ممالك جهان سلطان سليمان نشان علا الدنيا و الدين
 غوث الاسلام و المسلمين معز المارک و السلاطين قانع . . . قاض رئيس . . . و الملحين
 رافع اساس محراب و منبر ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين
 خلد الله ملكه الى يوم التذاد³ اين مسجد شامخ ارکان راسخ بنيان عمارت کرده شد ☉

On the inner arch.

اين مسجد جامع شامخ ارکان⁴ اصحاب دين . . . بفرمان برگزیده
 حضرت رحمان سکندر العهد و الزمان علا الدنيا و الدين الائق
 . . . بالملك المنان ابو المظفر (محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة) مظهر العدل و الرافة
 ناصر امير المؤمنين على الاسلام ☉

TRANSLATIONS.

Inscription on the right pier.

The building of this noble edifice and the foundation of this lofty structure were in the reign and during the kingship of the Lord of the kings of the world, the monarch with Darius's insignia, the Sultān administering perfect justice and abounding in benevolence, the emperor blessed with Divine grace (lit., blessed with comprehensive grace) and full authority, the elevator of the pulpits of Islam, the reviver of the forgotten commandments (of God), the founder of pulpits in places of worship, the builder (lit., elevator) of the foundation of houses of adoration, the populator of the cities of righteousness, the destroyer of the towns of error, exulting in his aggrandizement and at the imperial crown, ingenious in the palace of glory and on the throne of the kingdom, expounder of the laws of the Holy War, the elucidator of the arguments of religious exposition, the governor of the countries of the world . . .

Inscription on the left pier.

. kings, the elevator of the foundations of the prayer niche and pulpits of Islam, the demolisher of the bases of idol-temples, the establisher of the rules of charity, the destroyer of wine taverns (lit., intoxicant-houses),⁵ the world-conquering monarch, the shadow of Divine

¹ Sayed Ahmad's reading is ابد .

² See *Qur'ān*, Chap. XL, verse 34.

³ Sayed Ahmad has read these words as مسجد جامع سابع .

⁴ The date has been left out by Sayed Ahmad.

⁵ This refers to 'Alā'u-d-dīn's ordinance against the use of wine and intoxicating drugs. *History of India* by H. Elliot, Vol. III, p. 180.

mercy, blessed (lit., helped) by the Divine assistance, Abu-l-Muzaffar Muḥammad Shāh, Sultān, the right arm of Khilāfat (divine vicegerency), the ally (lit., helper) of the Prince of Faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom (so that he may continue) to build mosques, preserve till eternity his sovereignty (so as to protect) the lustre of places of worship, and (God) keep him in sovereignty and Khilāfat to the end of the world, as long as this verse is recited. "Praise be unto him, who transported his servant by night from the Masjidul-Harām (Sa House at Mecca) to the Masjidul-Aqṣā (the temple of Jerusalem)!"¹ On the 15th of Shaw 710 A.H. (Sunday, 7th March, 1310 A.D.).

Inscription on the outer arch.

By the order of the elect of the Lord Merciful, the governor of the empires of the world, Sultān with Solomon's insignia, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, the defence of Islām and the Muslim the bestower of honour on kings and rulers, the destroyer the infidels, the elevator of the bases of the prayer-niche and the pulpit, Ab Muḥaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, the right arm of Khilāfat, the ally (helper) of the Prince of the Faithful (may God preserve his kingdom till the Day of Judgment!) this mosque with 1 pillars and strong foundation was built.

Inscription on the inner arch.

. this assembly mosque (Jāmi' Masjid) with lofty pillars men of religion by the order of elect of the Lord Merciful, the Alexander of his time and period, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn confident in (the help) of the Benevolent Lord, Abu-l-Muzaffar (Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, the right arm of Khilāfat), the manifester of justice and mercy, helper of the Prince of the Faithful, Islām.

I read the inscriptions on the southern door as given below :—

PLATE VIII.

On the right pier.

بتوفیق ایزد بی همتا و معبود بی ائثال منشی² مسجد اسس علی
تقوی تعالی امره و شانه و توالی عدله و احسانه بر مقضي خیر مامور امر فول
جهک شطر المسجد الحرام محمد رسول الله علیه السلام كما قال من بنی مسجدا لله بنی
له به بیتا فی الجنة مجلس اعلی خدایگان سلاطین زمان شهنشاه مرسى فر سلیمان امکان³
ای شرایط شریعت محمدی و حامی مراسم ملت احمدی مروت منابر معالم و مساجد و
وطد قواعد مدارس و معابد ممد بنیان رسوم مسلمانی و مؤسس مبانی مذهب نعمانی
الغ اصول مرده فجار و قاطع فرغ قیده کفار و هادم بناء صوامع اصنام رافع اساس
جامع اسلام مظهر آیاه

¹ Qur'ān, Chap. XVII, verse 1.

² Sayad Ahmad read these words as نثرا مثال .

³ The ان of امکان is clear in the inscription, but Sayad Ahmad has read the word as مکان.

On the left pier.

قاهر كفره شرق و صين¹ قامع فجرة روى زمين فاتح قلاع شامخ ارکان² ضابط بقاع راسخ
بنیان المعتمد الله المذان ابر المظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة مبدین
دين الله ناصر امير المؤمنين مد الله ظلال جلاله على روس العالمين الى يوم الدين بنا فرمود
این مسجد کى³ مسجد جياه زمرة اوليا و ملثم شفا طایفه اتقيا مجمع ملائک
کرام و محضر ارواح انبياء عظام است بتاريخ في الخامس عشر من شوال سنة عشر و سبعمائة ٥

On the outer arch.

این مسجد کى در فسحت و رفعت چون بیت المقدس مشهور بلکه ثاني بیت المعمور
است حضرت اعلى خدايگان فايز فضل شامل احسان المريد بتأييد الملك المذان⁴ علا الدنيا
و الدين الظفر ابر المظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين مد الله ظلال
عظمته الى يوم الدين بصدق نيت و خلوص عقيدت بنا فرمود ٥

On the inner arch.

در عهد هماين حضرت عليا خدايگان (علا) الدنيا و الدين الغالب⁴
بالجنود الظفر ابر المظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين مد الله ظلال
خلافته على رؤس العالمين الى يوم الدين این مسجد کى بوصف ر من دخله کان آمنا
موصوف است ٥

TRANSLATIONS.

Inscription on the right pier.

By the grace of the peerless God and the matchless Deity, the Writer (of the words),
"There is a mosque founded on piety,"⁵ Whose authority and power is supreme, and Whose justice
and bounty is continuous, and according to the enactment of the one who was the best person to
receive the command, "Turn thy face to the Masjidul-Harām (Ka'ba),"⁶ Muḥammad, the
apostle of God, may peace be upon him!, who has said, "whoever buildeth a mosque for God, God
buildeth a house for him in Paradise," (he of) the exalted presence, the lord of the kings of his
time, the emperor, majestic as Moses and powerful as Solomon, the protector of the rulings of
Muhammadan law, the upholder of the ceremonies of Ahmad's⁷ faith, the strengthener of the
pulpits of religious institutions and mosques, the confirmer of the rules of colleges and places of
worship, the extender of the foundation of Islamic customs, the strengthener of the base of
Nu'mān's (Abū Hanifa) faith, the destroyer of the existence (lit., roots) of insolent sinners, the
pruner of the branches of the leaders of infidels, the demolisher of the foundations of idol-temples,
the builder (lit., elevator) of the bases of Islamic institutions, the manifestation of (Qur'ānic)
verses,

¹ Sayed Ahmad has read روى زمين .

² *Aẓhār* contains the reading امکان .

³ کى has been spelt كى in the Qutb Minar inscriptions as well. *E. I. M.*, 1911-12, p. 13.

⁴ Sayed Ahmad's reading is العالي .

⁵ *Qur'ān*, Chap. IX, verse 109.

⁶ A name of the Prophet Muḥammad.

⁷ *Idem*, Chap. II, verse 139.

Inscription on the left pier.

the subjugator of the infidels of the East and China, the subduer of evil-doers on the face of the earth, the conqueror of forts with lofty columns, the governor of places with strong defences (lit., foundations), relying on of the benevolent God, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, the right arm of Khilāfat, the expounder of the Divine faith, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God increase the shade of his majesty over the head of all creation till the Day of Judgment; (he) built this mosque, which is the shrine blessed by the group of saints, the kissing place (place of worship) sanctified by men of piety, the meeting place of the great angels, and the assembly room for the souls of the chief prophets. On the 15th Shawwāl 710 A.H. (Sunday, 7th March, 1310 A.D.).

Inscription on the outer arch.

This mosque, which in spaciousness and height is as well known as the Baitu-l-Muqaddas (Holy temple at Jerusalem), or rather it is a second Baitu-l-Mā'mūr,¹ was built with a pure motive and in sincere faith by His Exalted Majesty, the lord with diffusing grace and comprehensive bounty, blessed by the help of the Bountiful Lord, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddini-z-zafr, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, the right arm of Khilāfat, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God prolong the shade of his majesty to the Day of Judgment.

Inscription on the inner arch.

In the auspicious reign of His Exalted Majesty, the lord 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddin, the conqueror through his victorious army, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, the right arm of Khilāfat, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God spread the shade of his sovereignty over the head of all creation till the Day of Judgment, this mosque, which has the quality (referred to in the verse) "Whoever entereth it is blessed with safety"² (was built).

I read the inscriptions on the western door as given below :—

PLATE IX.

Inscription on the right pier.

چون ایزد تعالیٰ علا علایه و سمی اسماءه برای اخیای مراسم ملت و اعلاء معالم شریعت
خدایگان خلفاء³ جهانرا برگزیده تا هر لمحہ اساس دین محمدی استحکام می پذیرد و هر
لحظه بناء شریعت احمدی قری می گردد از برای دوام مملکت و نظام سلطنت عمارت
مساجد طاعات بحکم کلام من لا رب سواه کی انما یعمر مساجد الله من امن
با (الله)⁴

Inscription on the left pier.

خلد الله ملکه الی يوم القیام فی رفع بناء جوامع الاسلام و ابقاه صدي الزمان
فی اشاعة الاحسان⁵ فی التاريخ فی الخامس عشر من شوال سنه عشر و سبع مائه ٥

¹ The heavenly prototype of Ka'ba.

² This word has been left out in Sayed Ahmad's reading.

³ The stone is broken here.

⁴ Qur'ān, Chap. III, verse 91.

⁵ The stone is broken after these words.

⁶ Sayed Ahmad read this word as *الاسلام*

Inscription on the outer arch.

حضرت عليا خدايگان سلاطين مصطفى جاء الضارع الامر الله المخصوص بعناية الاكرم
الاکرمين علا الدنيا والدين غوث الاسلام و المسلمين مغيث¹ الملوك و السلاطين القايم
بتائيد الرحمن ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان سکندر ثاني يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المومنين
خلد الله ملكه بناء اين خيرات سنت و جماعت اسم عمارت فرمود ⑤

Inscription on the inner arch.

اين كى ثاني بيت المعمور و در افواه چون جنان مذكور است بخلوص
عقيدت و صفا² طربت مجلس اعلى خدايگان سلاطين زمان علاء الدنيا و الدين سلطان
البر و الاحسان المريد بتائيد الرحمان ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة ناصر
امير المومنين عظمه³ الى يزم الدين ⑥

TRANSLATIONS.

Inscription on the right pier.

When God Almighty, whose greatness is sublime and whose names are exalted, to revive the ceremonies of the (Islamic) faith and to raise the banners of the (Muhammadan) law, selected the lord of the caliphs of the world, so that the foundation of Muhammadan religion might get strength every moment, and the base of the law of Ahmad might be consolidated every minute (lit., in the twinkling of an eye), he (the elect of God), to perpetuate his kingdom and to regulate his government, erected mosques for worship in accordance with the command of Him beside whom there is no God: *But he only shall visit the mosques who believes in God.*⁴

Inscription on the left pier.

... Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, the right arm of Khilāfat, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God preserve his kingdom till the day of Resurrection to elevate the institutions of Islam, and keep him till the end of the world to spread benevolence! On the 15th Shawwāl 710 A.H. (Sunday, 7th March, 1310 A.D.).

Inscription on the outer arch.

His exalted majesty, the lord of kings, glorious like Muṣṭafa (Muhammad), submissive to the command of God, distinguished by the grace of the Most Bountiful Lord, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, the defence of al-Islam and the Muslims, the redresser of kings and rulers, confirmed by the help of the Merciful, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, the second Alexander, the right arm of Khilāfat, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom!, built this auspicious (house, which is the place of worship) of Sunnat n Jamā'at.⁵

¹ Sayed Ahmad's reading is معز.² Sayed Ahmad read this word as قضا.³ Sayed Ahmad's reading is ملكه.⁴ Qur'ān, Chap. IX, verse 18.⁵ Sunnat u Jamā'at, adherents of the first four Caliphs, in opposition to Shī'a, the followers of 'Alī.

Inscription on the inner arch.

This (building), which is a second Bait-i-Mā'mūr, and reported to be like paradise, (was built) with sincere faith and pure motive by His Exalted Presence, the lord of the kings of his time, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, the benevolent and generous Sultān, blessed by the help of the Merciful, Abu-l-Muzaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, the right arm of Khilāfat, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful . . . his glory till the Day of Judgment !

XXIV.—Inscription of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khaljī in the 'Īdgāh at Rāprī (Mainpuri District).

Rāprī (26° 58' N. and 78° 36' E.) is a village in the Shikohābad Tahsīl of the Mainpuri District. It was a prosperous town under the Musalman rulers and is often referred to in contemporary history. The present inscription is the earliest Muslim record at the place, but Rāprī seems to have come under the rule of the Sultāns of Delhi a century earlier, for Shihābu-d-dīn's army defeated Jai Chand at Chandwar, a little to the north of Rāprī, in 1194.

The inscriptional tablet (5' × 2') is set over the central Mihrab of an old 'Īdgāh,¹ the architecture of which has been fully discussed by Cunningham in *A. S. R.* (Vol. IV, pp. 217-21). The style of writing is typical of the script of the period, a bold, vigorous hand, in this case without any ornamental flourish. The inscription is written in four lines in the Persian language.

The chief features of the record are the names of 'Alā'u-d-dīn and of his illustrious General, Malik Kāfūr, who in the year (711 A.H.), referred to in the inscription, returned to Delhi after his conquest of Southern India.² As Rāprī at this time formed the fief of Malik Kāfūr,³ so the 'Īdgāh on which the inscription is carved may have been erected to commemorate the triumphant return of the General.

I read the inscription as follows :⁴—

PLATE X (a).

(1) بنا این بقعه شریف بتوفیق یزدانی و تأیید سبحانی و بفضل ربانی در عهد خلافت
سکندر الثانی (2) علا الدنیا و الدین المخصوص بعنایت رب العالمین ابرالمظفر محمد شاه
السلطان (3) ناصر امیر المومنین و نوبت ایالت بنده کمتر خداگانی کانور سلطانی تقبل الله
منهم (4) واحسن الله جزائهم فی المنتصف من شهر المبارک رمضان عظم الله حرمتہ سنہ احدى
عشر و سبعمائه ٠

TRANSLATION.

By the grace of God, the assistance of the Almighty and the bounty of the Lord, this sacred house was built in the reign of the second Alexander, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, who is distinguished by the favour of the Lord of the worlds, Abu-l-Muzaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, and during the administration of the humble servant of his Majesty, Kāfūr, the Royal slave: may God accept their (Muḥammad Shāh's and Kāfūr's) prayers, and may God grant them a handsome reward ! In the middle of the auspicious month of Ramazān—may God increase its honour !—in the year 711 A.H. (January, 1312 A.D.).

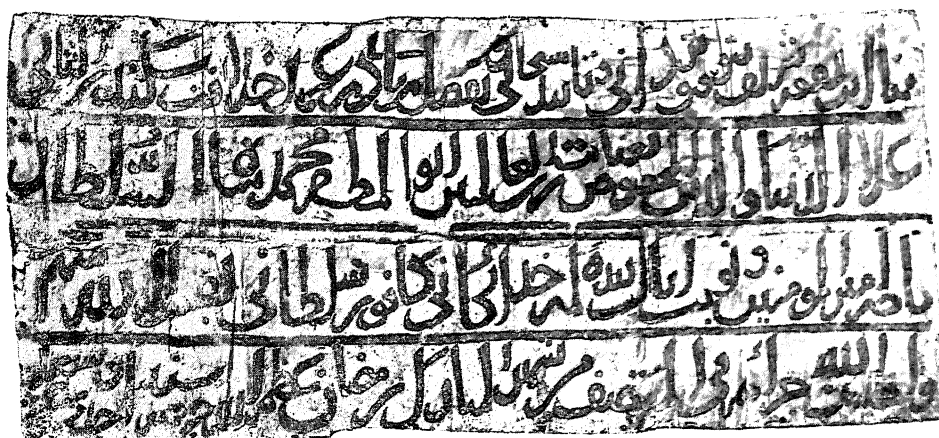
¹ It is situated at a distance of a mile and a half north-east of Rāprī.

² *Briggs*, Vol. I, pp. 374-75.

³ *Baranī* (Bibl. Ind.), p. 328.

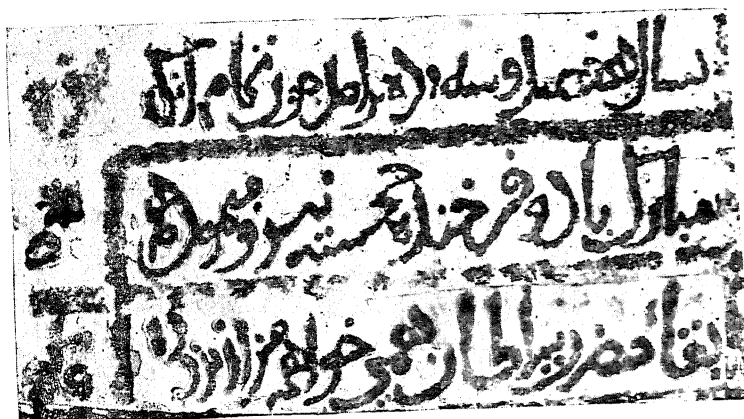
⁴ The inscription is noticed in *P. A. S. B.* (August, 1873), *A. S. R.* (Vol. IV), and *Gazetteer*, N. W. P., Vol. IV (ed. 1876).

(a) Inscription in the 'Idgah at Rapri (Mainpuri, U.P.).



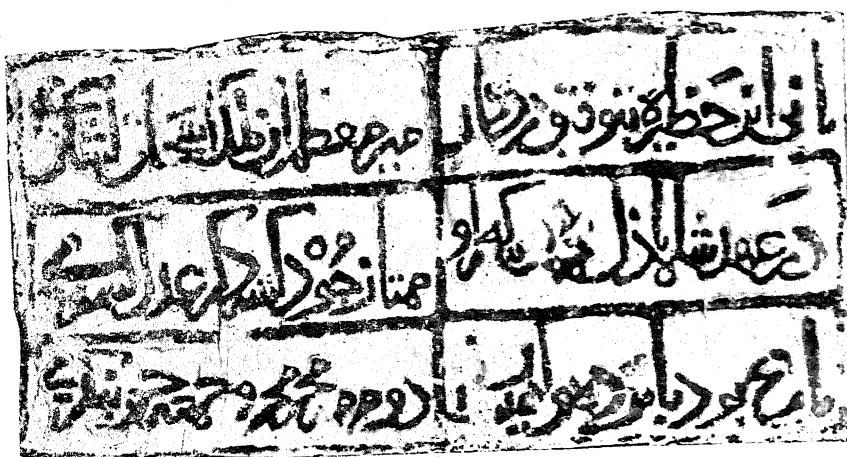
Scale '08

(b) Inscription in Shah Wilayat's tomb, Hansi.



Scale '14

(c) Inscription in a tomb, west of Shah Jalalu-l-Haq's shrine, Pirzadon-ka-Muhalla, Panipat.



Scale '142

XXV.—Inscription on Shāh Wilāyat's Tomb at Hansi, dated 713 A.H.

The tomb of Shāh Wilāyat is situated about a quarter of a mile north of the Fort of Hansi. It consists only of a small platform measuring 8' in length and 6' in breadth, and rising to a height of 4' above ground. The inscriptional tablet is fixed to the north side of the platform and measures 2' 2" × 1' 2".

The inscription, although it is referred to in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II (p. 432), and Rodgers' *List* (p. 69), is being published now, for the first time. It is a fragmentary record, only the right half of it being preserved. The left half has been destroyed on account of the breaking of the inscriptional tablet. The letters of the preserved portion are distinct and written in *Naskh* style. The language of the inscription is Persian and it is composed in verse, the metre being *Hazaj*. I have deciphered the inscription as follows :—

PLATE X (b).

- (1) بسال هفصد و سه و ده برآمد چرخ تمام انکه *

 (2) مبارک باد و فرخنده خجسته نیز و میمن هم *

 (3) بقاء حضرت سلطان همی خواهم من از یزدان¹ *

TRANSLATION.

1. In the year 713 (A.H.), when the whole of it was built
2. May it be happy and felicitous, and also lucky and auspicious.
3. I pray to Almighty God for the long life of the Sultān².

XXVI.—Inscription in the Ambiya Wāli Mosque, Fatehpūr Sikri.

The old town of Sikri is mentioned by Muslim writers for the first time in connection with the conquest of India by Bābur, who, in the vicinity of the town, defeated the Rajput confederacy in 1527. But it must have come under Muslim influence several centuries earlier than that, for the style of the ruins at the place, the presence of two inscriptions of 'Alā'u-d-din Khaljī,³ and the close proximity of the town to Bayana, which was a Musalman Fortress from the earliest time of their conquest of India, all lead to such a conclusion.

The building on which the inscription is set is called the Ambiya Wāli Mosque (Prophets' Mosque) and is situated at Nagar, a suburb of Fatehpūr. It is a small structure of red sandstone, built in the Pathan style, and consists of a hall measuring 35' × 17' and a courtyard 33' × 14'. The hall, by insertion of pillars, some of which are carved and the others plain, is divided into two aisles and has five openings towards the east. The inscription is carved on three pieces of grey sandstone, which are fixed into the east wall of the courtyard of the mosque. The size of the three pieces together is 7' 10" × 1'. The style of writing is bold and vigorous, typical of the script in vogue for inscriptions at Delhi and other important towns at the time. The letters have been abraded by the effects of the weather in some places; but I have been able to decipher it almost completely. The language is Persian.

¹ The metre of these lines is *Hazaj*.

² The inscription, as its contents show, has no connection with the grave of Shāh Wilāyat. It belonged to some other building, at the demolition of which people seem to have removed the inscription here—the shrine of a saint being considered a safe place for such stones.

³ One of these two inscriptions is the present epigraph. Of the other inscription I have not been able to obtain a facsimile, but the reading of a portion of it is given in the *Atthār-i-Akbārī*, p. 190 (ed. Agra, 1324 H.).

PLATE XI (a).

(1) تمام شد این عمارت مسجد در عهد خلافت بادشاه جهان خسرو زمان ناصر
 زمره مظلوم منتصف . . . و عموم علاءالدنيا و الدين مغیث الاسلام و المسلمين (2) القایم
 بحجة الله الداعي الى محجة الله المخصوص بعنايت الرحمان ابوالمظفر محمد شاه السلطان
 خلدت خلافته بتاریخ روز چهارشنبه درازدهم ماه شوال سنه ثلث عشر و سبعمائه ٥

TRANSLATION.

The building of this mosque was completed during the reign of the king of the world, the lord of the age, the protector of the oppressed, the administrator of justice (in favour of) common people, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, the redresser of Islām and the Muslims, who is abiding by the Divine argument, calling (people) to the path of God, distinguished by the grace of the Merciful, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, may his kingship be preserved till eternity!—on Wednesday, the 12th of Shawwal 713 A.H. (30th January, 1314 A.D.).

XXVII.—Arabic inscription in the Shrine of Arjun Shāh at Petlād (Baroda State).

Two inscriptions of this shrine were published by me in the last number of this Journal (1915-16, pp. 15-18) and the present epigraph is the third and last of the set there. This record is interesting from a historical point of view, as it clears up the confusion caused by some Persian historians ('Alī Muḥammad Khān, author of the *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadī*, and Firishta) regarding the exact name of the governor, who administered the province of Gujarat, after its conquest by Ulugh Khān in the reign of 'Alā'u-d-dīn.¹ Among the four chief nobles of the court of the latter king one was Ulugh Khān, the brother of the Sultān, and another his wife's brother, Malik Sanjar, to whom the king had given the title of Alp Khān. Historians are unanimous that, shortly after 'Alā'u-d-dīn's accession to the throne, Ulugh Khān was deputed to march against Gujarat, which he conquered completely. Afterwards he returned to Delhi and received the fief of Bayana, which he held till he was ordered by the king to the Fort of Ranthambor. Ulugh Khān was put in charge of the Fort and all its territories and appurtenances after its conquest in 700 A.H. He fell sick there within six months and died on his way to Delhi, whither his body was conveyed for burial.²

Alp Khān, the king's brother-in-law, seems to have gone to Gujarat as Governor shortly after the conquest of the province. He administered Gujarat on behalf of 'Alā'u-d-dīn for nearly twenty years, till 715 A.H., when he was recalled to the capital and, owing to an accusation arising out of the enmity of Malik Kāfūr, who was then the *Wazīr*, he was put to death without any just cause.³ Firishta and 'Alī Muḥammad Khān confuse Alp Khān with Ulugh Khān and write that the latter carried on the government of Gujarat for twenty years after its conquest in 697 A.H.,⁴ which is impossible in view of the fact that Ulugh Khān, as noticed above, died in 701 A.H. Zia Baranī distinguishes between Ulugh Khān and Alp Khān and, according

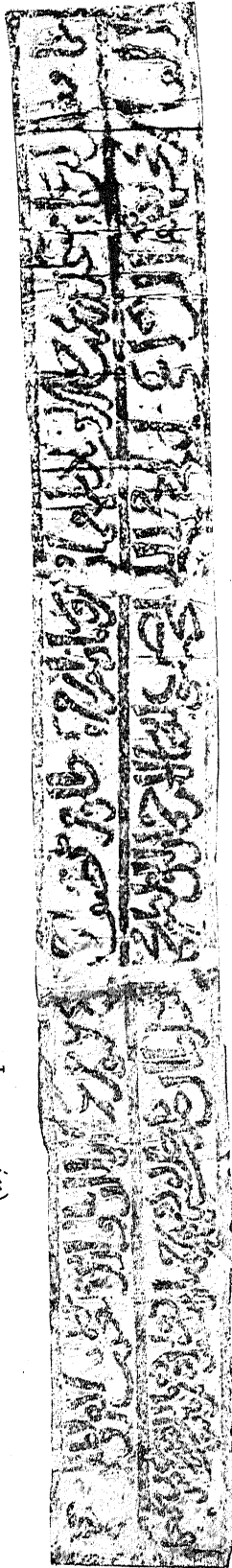
¹ Amīr Khutirau places this event in 698 A.H. and 'Alī Muḥammad Khān in 696, but Firishta and Zia Baranī describe the conquest in 697 A.H. which is pretty certainly the correct date. *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 74, *Briggs*, Vol. I, pp. 327-29, and *Bayley*, pp. 37-38 n.

² *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 179, and *Bayley*, p. 39 n.

³ *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 208, and *Bayley*, p. 39.

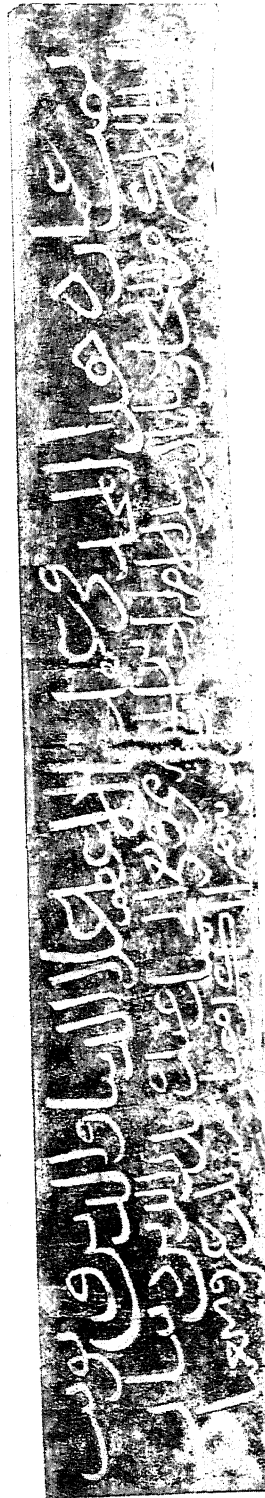
⁴ *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 208 n., and *Bayley*, p. 39.

(a) Inscription in the Anbiya Wali Mosque, Fathpur, Sikri.



Scale '09

(b) Inscription in Arjun Shah's shrine, Petlad (Baroda State).



Scale '11

to him, it was the latter who, in 715 A.H., was called from Gujarat and slain at the instance of Malik Kāfūr.¹ The present inscription, which is dated 713 A.H., supports the statement of Barani and shows that Alp Khān and not Ulugh Khān was the Governor of Gujarat.

The inscription, besides the name of Alp Khān, mentions the names of two other nobles of 'Alā'u-d-dīn's time—Ikhtiyāru-d-dīn and Badru-d-dīn Dīnār. Ikhtiyāru-d-dīn may be identified with the officer bearing this title in the Cambay inscription (*infra*, p. 38). He held the office of the Commander of the Sea and died in 1316 A.D. Badru-d-dīn Dīnār is probably the Malik Dīnār referred to in the *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadī* as father of 'Alā'u-d-dīn's wife, who was honoured with the title of Zafar Khān and was sent as *Nāẓim* to Gujarat.² He was later recalled by the king and put to death without sufficient cause.³

The inscription, which records the erection of a *masjid*, is incised on a slab of sandstone (6' x 1') placed on the floor along the west wall of Arjun Shāh's shrine.⁴ The style of writing is *Naskh*, but the letters are rather crude in execution. The language is Arabic and my reading of the text is given below :—

PLATE XI (b).

- (1) تمت عمارة هذا المسجد في عهد (سلطان) الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين ونزبت
 (2) الخان الاكرم الينخان وبايالت سيد الامرا اختيار الدين وسعي الجميل عبده بدر الدين
 دينار (3) من شهر المبارك رمضان سنة ثلث عشر وسبع مائة ٥

TRANSLATION.

The building of this mosque was completed during the reign of the great Sultān, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn and the administration of the most benevolent Khān, Alp Khān, and the governorship of the chief of the nobles Ikhtiyāru-d-dīn, through the commendable efforts of his (?) servant, Badru-d-dīn Dīnār auspicious month of Ramāzān 713 A.H. (December, 1313 A.D.).

XXVIII.—Inscription of Fīroz Shāh of Bengal in Zafar Khān's tomb at Tribeni, dated 713 A.H.

This inscription marks a further step towards the development of the *Tughra* style of Bengal, which is characterized by intricacy of design and elegance of execution. The shape of the letters in the present case has not been much changed for the sake of ornamentation, and is extremely neat and crisp. The inscription is carved on two long basalt tablets (each measuring 6' 3" x 10") imbedded in the northern side of Zafar Khān's tomb.

Apart from its fine style of writing the epigraph is interesting, as it mentions the names of the king, Fīroz Shāh of Bengal (1302-18) and of his deputy Zafar Khān with their full titles, which are not to be found on coins, or in contemporary history. The inscription also records the erection of a school; but, as a building of this nature was already in existence, founded in

¹ Elliot, Vol. III, p. 208.

² Bayley, p. 40.

³ During the rebellion of Ākat Khān, Malik Dīnār showed great courage in guarding the Royal harem. Elliot, Vol. III, p. 173.

⁴ For a description of the shrine see *E. I. M.*, 1915-16, p. 15.

697 A.H., during the reign of Kaikā'ūs (*ante*, p. 13), it appears that the old school building was only rebuilt or extended in Firoz Shāh's time.

The inscription was published by Blochmann in *J. A. S. B.* (Vol. XXXIX (1873), pp. 287-88) and I differ from him only on minor points regarding the decipherment of the text.¹ I have read the inscription as follows:—

PLATE XII (a).

(1) الحمد لولي الحمد ○ بنيت هذه المدرسة المسماة دار الخيرات في عهد سلطنة والي المبرة صاحب التاج والخاتم ظل الله في العالم المكرم الاكرم² الاعظم مالک رقاب الامم شمس الدنيا والدين المخصوص بعناية رب العالمين وارث ملك سليمان ابي³ المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله سلطانه (2) بامر الخان الاجل الكريم المبجل الجليل العطا الجميل الثنا نصير الاسلام ظهير الانام شهاب الحق والدين معين الملوك والاسلاطين مرربي ارباب اليقين خانجهان⁴ ظفر خان اظفره الله باعدائه⁵ وعطفه على اوليائه⁶ في غرة المحرم المضاف الى سنة ثلث عشرة وسبعمائه ○

TRANSLATION.

Praise be to Him to whom praise is due! This school, which is called Dāru-l-Khairāt (House of Benevolence), was built during the reign of the lord of beneficence, the master of the crown and the seal, the shadow of God in the world, the benevolent, the generous, the great, the lord of the necks of nations, Shamsu-d-dunya waddīn, who is distinguished by the grace of the Lord of the universe, the heir of the kingdom of Sulaimān (Solomon), Abu-l-Muẓaffar Firoz Shāh, the Sultān—may God perpetuate his authority!—by the order of the great Khān, the liberal, the exalted, who is generous in gifts and worthy of (lit., beautiful in) praise, the supporter of Islām and the helper of mankind, Shihābu-l-Haqq waddīn, the aider of kings and monarchs, the patron of believers, Khān-i-Jahān (Khān of the world), Zafar Khān, may God make him victorious over his enemies and make him kind to his friends! On the 1st of Muḥarram, 713 A.H. (Saturday, 28th April, 1313).

XXIX.—Inscription of Shamsu-d-dīn Firoz Shāh of Bengal, dated 715 A.H., preserved at the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Blochmann found the basalt tablet (3' 6" × 1') bearing this inscription, leaning against the wall of the Chhota Dargāh in Bihar.⁷ It has since been removed from there and is now preserved at the Indian Museum, Calcutta. This is the latest inscription of Shamsu-d-dīn Firoz Shāh, dated 715 A.H. (1315 A.D.), and, besides his name, contains the name of his son

¹ Text of the inscription is also reproduced in *J. E. A. S.* (Vol. VI, N. S., p. 373).

² *J. A. S. B.* (XXXIX, p. 287) contains the reading الاكرام which is incorrect.

³ ابي is clear in the inscription, which is grammatically correct. I do not understand how Blochmann read and then pointed out that the word was grammatically incorrect.

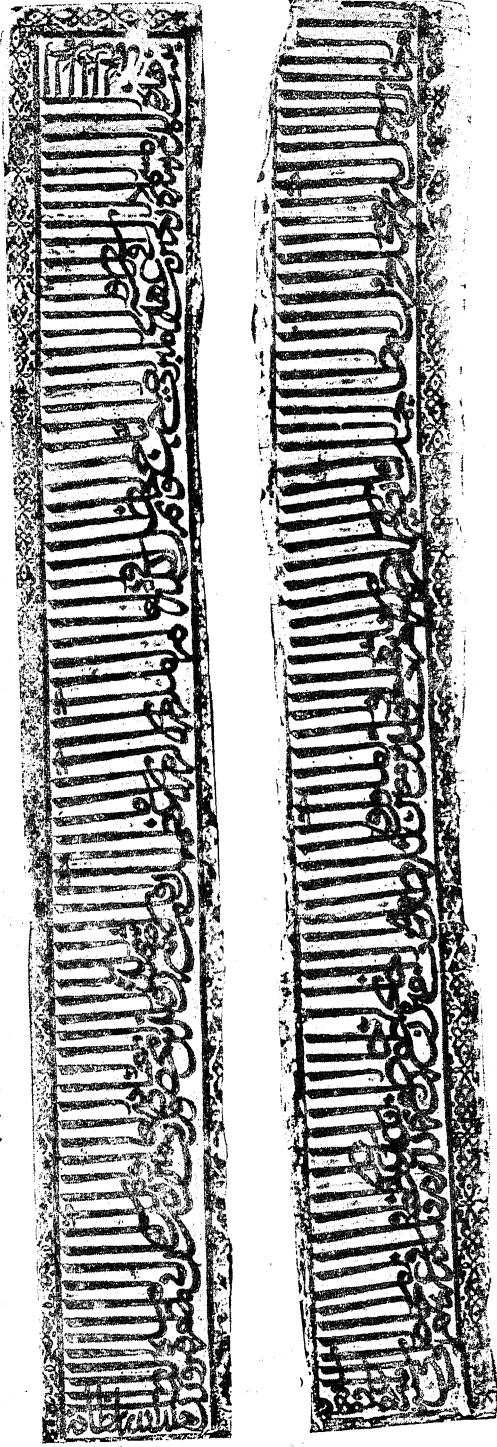
⁴ Blochmann's reading is محمد خان.

⁵ The reading اعدائه is not supported by the facsimile.

⁶ This phrase has not been correctly deciphered by Blochmann.

⁷ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, p. 250, and *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 291.

(a) Inscription in Zafar Khan's tomb (north side), Tribeni.



Scale '1

(b) Firoz Shah inscription dated 715 A. H., Indian Museum, Calcutta.



Scale '2

Hātim Khān,¹ who is mentioned as the Governor of the place (Bihar). The style of writing is similar to that of the other inscription of Fīroz Shāh from Bihar (*ante*, p. 22), and, although the latter epigraph is six years earlier than the present inscription, both of them seem to have been designed by the same artist. (Pls. VI b and XII b.)

The inscription records the erection of a mosque by one Bahrām b. Hājī. The language is Arabic.

I have read the inscription as follows :²—

PLATE XII (b).

(1) بني هذه المسجد في نوبة السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابي المظفر فيروز
 شاه السلطان و ايام اماره خاتان الزمان³ المخاطب بجامه خان (2) ادام الله ظلالهما العبد الراق
 بالله و لكرمه الراجي احقر الخلاق بهرام ابن حاجي تاب الله عليه و غفر لوالديه في الغره من
 رجب سنة خمس و عشرة و سبعمائه ☉

TRANSLATION.

This mosque was built in the reign of the great Sultān, Shamsu-d-dunya waddīn Abu-l-Muẓaffar Fīroz Shāh, the Sultān, and during the administration of the king (Khāqan) of the world, known as Hātim Khān—may God cause their shadows to last!—by the slave who is confident in God and soliciting His mercy, the lowliest of mankind, Bahrām, son of Hājī, may God forgive him and may He pardon his parents! On the first of Rajab, 715 A.H. (1st October, 1315).

XXX.—Inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh from Hansi, dated 815 A.H.

In the town of Hansi, adjoining the shrine of Shaikh Jalāl-u-l-Haqq,⁴ there is a building in the lower part of which the present inscription is engraved on a tablet measuring 2' 9" × 1' 4". It is a Persian record, composed in verse and consisting of three lines.⁵ The metre is *Muẓirī*.

The style of writing is plain *Naskh* and where the stone has not decayed the letters are quite distinct.

The inscription records the building of an enclosure by one Malik Ishāq in 815 A.H., who seems to have been an unimportant person, because his name does not occur in contemporary history. The other name mentioned in the inscription is that of Maḥmūd Shāh (1392-1412 A.D.), who has been praised for his benevolence and justice.

¹ For information regarding this prince see *ante*, p. 22.

² The text and a translation of the inscription are published in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, p. 250, and *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 291.

³ This title shows that Hātim Khān at the time of the inscription seems to have acquired great authority. In the other inscription (*ante*, p. 22) he is styled only "the just and liberal Khān."

⁴ For the history of Shāh Jalāl see *Khazinatu-l-Aḡfiyā* (Nawal Kishore lithograph, pp. 361-65).

⁵ In the introduction (p. 9) I have stated, as previous scholars had written, that the phrase—*Durum māhi Muḥarramo roz Jum'ā*—like the well-known chronogram of Bābur's birth, gives the Hijra year. But on a closer examination of the inscription I have found that the word—*roz*—the numerical value of which has been included in calculating the date, does not exist on the stone. Further, the date given in hemistich 1 of line 3 is 815, and not 715, as deciphered by previous scholars. The inscription belongs to the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh II (1392-1412 A.D.), and it has no connection with the epigraphs of Khaljī Sultāns.

I have read the inscription as follows ¹ :—

PLATE X (c).

(1) باني اين حظيره بتوفيق كردگار مير معظم آن ملك اسحاق لشكري
 (2) در عهد شاه باذل محمودشه كه ار ممتاز جود گشته دگر عدل گستري
 (3) تاريخ بود پانزده رهيصد (؟) از . . . دن مه محرم و جمعه چو بنگري

TRANSLATION.

(1) By the grace of God, the builder of this enclosure is the exalted Mir, Malik Ishāq Lashkari.

(2) In the reign of the benevolent king, Maḥmūd Shāh, who is distinguished for generosity and justice.

(3) The date, if thou wouldst calculate, was 815 A.H., the 2nd of Muḥarram, Friday (15th April, 1412 A.D.).

XXXI.—Inscription of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khalji from Rāpri (Mainpuri District).

An estampage of this inscription was found in the collection of rubbings in the Office of the Director-General of Archæology in India, and, on my making inquiries about the provenance of the epigraph, Mr. Zafar Hasan, Assistant Superintendent of Archæology, Delhi, has been kind enough to furnish me with the information that the inscriptional tablet is now placed in a small modern mosque at Rāpri, near the house of Saim. Khān Nambardār of the village; but it originally belonged to the Jāmi' Masjid of Rāpri, which is now in complete ruins.³

The inscription, which is fragmentary, mentions the name of 'Alā'u-d-dīn and refers to the religious wars, which he waged against the infidels.² It is in Persian verse, being arranged in four lines on a stone tablet, only the middle portion of which now survives, the right and left portions having broken away. The incomplete verses, which remain, are not continuous and unfortunately the date portion is missing.

The style of writing is *Naskh*. I have deciphered the text as follows :—

PLATE XIV (a).

* * * * *
 كه شاد شد ز غزاهاش روح بيغامير
 علاء دنيا ر دين
 * * * * *

¹ The text of the inscription is published in Rodgers' *List*, p. 60.

² The remains of the central dome and two arches still exist. The prayer hall measures 52' 6" × 15' 9" and the courtyard 52' 6" × 28'. The ruins of the mosque are at a short distance from Rāpri to the west of the village.

³ There is another inscription of 'Alā'u-d-dīn at Rāpri (*ante*, p. 30).

(a) Inscription originally in the Jami' Masjid at Rapri (Mainpuri, U. P.).



Scale 1/166

(b) Inscription in a mosque in Dakhni Tola, Bhuili (Mirzapur).



• که چتر بر سر او هست سایه بان اله
 ز هجرت نبی از سال بوه
 * * * * *
 ... باد تا ابد از فضل حق درام بملک (۹)
 بسعی خاصه یزدان سدان
 * * * * *
 بسوی این خط بدیع کند
 برای حاجب خود راز بان
 * * * * *

TRANSLATION.

* * * * *
 By whose religious wars the soul of the Prophet has been pleased.
 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddin
 * * * * *
 Over whose head the Royal canopy is the umbrella of Divine protection,
 The year from the *migration* of the Prophet
 * * * * *
 . . . by the grace of God may he rule till eternity,
 By the efforts of the elect of God may the spear
 * * * * *
 whoever may look at this elegant writing,
 For his minister, the privy councillor
 * * * * *

XXXII.—Inscription on Ikẖtiyāru-d-Daulah's tomb, Cambay.

Cambay (*Khambāyat*, 22° 18' N. and 72° 40' E.) is mentioned by Mas'ūdī (915), and later by Marco Polo and his countryman and contemporary Marino Sanudo, as one of the most flourishing ports of India.¹ In 1298 'Alā'u-d-din's army under Nusrat Khān and Ulugh Khān conquered Gujarat, and, when they proceeded to Kambāya or Khambāih (Cambay), they levied large quantities of jewels and precious articles from the merchants of that place, who were very rich.² Later Alp Khān, brother-in-law of the Sultān, was appointed Nāzīm of Gujarat, who governed the province most successfully, and, when he was recalled and killed by the king, great disorders arose in that country. In 716 A.H. Quṭbu-d-dīn, having succeeded his father on the throne of Delhi, sent Malik Kamālu-d-dīn to restore order; but 'he obtained the honour of martyrdom and the disturbances became greater than ever.'³ Our inscription is dated 716 A.H.

¹ *Travels of Marco Polo* (edited by H. Yule), Vol. II, p. 398, Note 1. Ibnī Baṭūṭā wrote that the greater part of its inhabitants were foreign merchants. *Travels* (English translation), pp. 146 and 164.

² *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 74 and 163.

³ *History of Gujarat* by E. Bayley, p. 40.

and as it commemorates the martyrdom of *Ikhṭiyāru-d-Daulah*, the *Baḥr-Bek* (Commander of the Sea), it confirms the rebellious condition of the country at that period.

The inscription is noticed in the *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency* (p. 319), but the scholar who deciphered the text has committed a mistake in reading the official designation of *Ikhṭiyāru-d-Daulah* as *مخزن معمورة كهنبايت* (Treasurer of the City of Cambay), instead of *بحر بك معمورة كهنبايت* (Commander of the Sea in the City of Cambay). In the list of Malik of 'Alā'u-d-dīn's reign, given by Baranī (Persian text, pp. 240-41), we find a Malik *Ikhṭiyāru-d-dīn Tagīn*, who may be identical with the *Ikhṭiyāru-d-dīn* of the inscription, because Gujarat was an important province of the empire and a Malik might have been posted to the responsible office of Commander of the Sea.

Mr. Rakhal Das Bannerji, who has been kind enough to send me an inked rubbing of the inscription, writes that the inscription is cut on an arch-shaped marble tablet (4' 3" x 1' 7") fixed at the head of a plain masonry sarcophagus, in the veranda of a modern building called *Mādhō Rāo's house*, which is used as a sort of guest-house by the Cambay State at present.

The style of writing is *Naskh* and the language Arabic. I decipher the inscription as follows:—

PLATE III (c).

Top (arch): Qur'ān (Chap. LIX, verse 22).

Outer bands: Do. (Chap. II, verses 256-57).

Inner bands: Do. (Chap. III, verses 16-17).

Central portion (oblong parallelogram): Islamic creed, the *Bismillah*, Qur'ān (Chap. IX, verse 21, and Chap. XXIII, verse 30) and the following epitaph:—

هذا القبر للامير الكبير المرحوم المغفور السيد
الشهيد اختيار الدولة والدين بحر بك معمورة كهنبايت
... بره الله مضجعه وآنس . . . رحشته قد توفى ليلة
الثلاثا سابع عشر من شهر جمادى الاخر سنة سادس
عشر وسبعمائه صلى الله على خير خلقه محمد وآله

TRANSLATION.

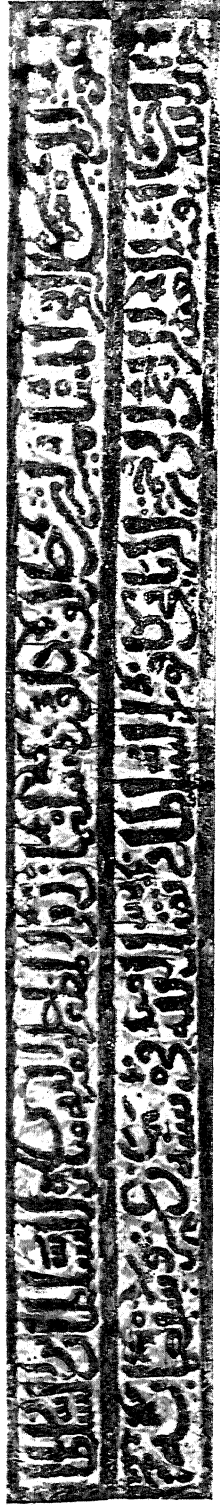
This is the grave of the great Amīr, whom God has taken into His mercy and whose sins have been pardoned, the Sayyid, the martyr, *Ikhṭiyāru-d-daulah waddīn*, *Baḥr Bek* in the city of *Khambāyat* . . . may God cool his resting-place and alleviate his solitude! He died in the night on Tuesday, the 17th of Jumada II, 716 A.H. (6th September, 1316 A.D.). O God, bless the best of the creation, Muḥammad and his descendants!

XXXIII-XXXIV.—Two inscriptions of Mubārak *Shāh Khaljī*, dated 718 A.H., on the *Jhālar Bāoli* at *Bayānā*.

The *Jhālar Bāoli* is situated about two miles north of *Bayānā* and derives its name from the pillared cloisters which surround it like a fringe (*jhālar*).¹ It is a fine monument, built entirely of red sandstone, and still in a good state of preservation in spite of its great age. The

¹ For a full description of the monument see *A. S. R.*, Vol. XX, pp. 69-70.

(a) Inscription on the north-east doorway of the Jhalar Baoli, Bayana.



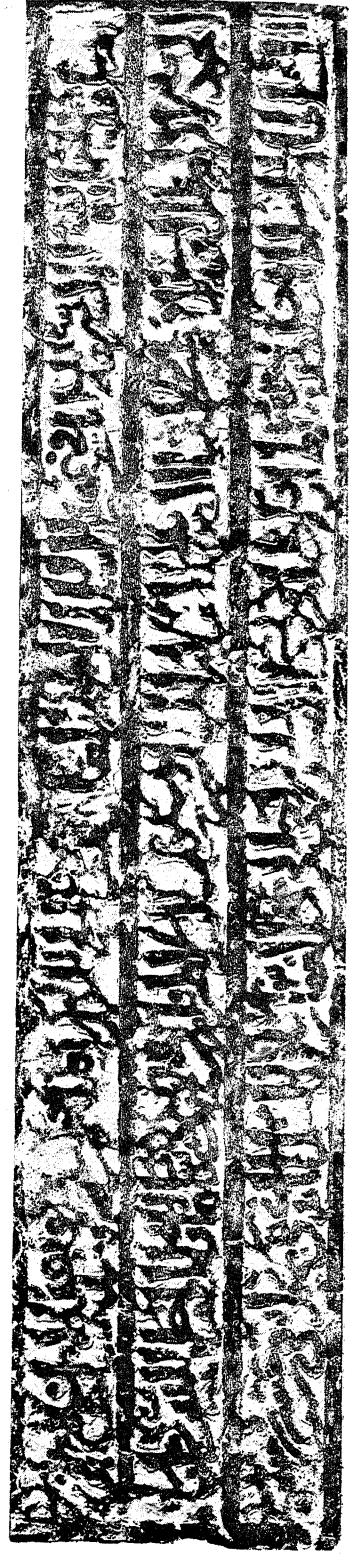
Scale '166

(b) Inscription on the south-east doorway of the Jhalar Baoli, Bayana.



Scale '2

(c) Inscription in the Ukha Masjid, Bayana.



Bāoli (reservoir of water) itself is 79' square, while the whole building measures 127' 6" each way, externally, and has a domed entrance at each of the four corners, placed diagonally.

Over the N.-E. and S.-E. doorways of the Bāoli there are two inscriptions, in Arabic and Persian respectively, both dated in A.H. 718 (1318 A.D.), during the reign of Mubārak Shāh Khaljī, and mentioning the name of Malik Kāfūr as the builder of the Bāoli. There is a third inscription in Sanskrit, inscribed on one of the jambs of the N.-E. doorway, which mentions the name of one Rāipat and the date—"Tuesday of the bright fortnight of Vaisākha, Sam. 1325 (A.D. 1268)."¹ This epigraph is unfortunately very short; it, however, shows that some portion of the masonry of the door on which the inscription is carved originally belonged to an old Hindu temple.

Malik Kāfūr survived Sultān 'Alā'u-d-dīn only thirty-five days, and as the latter, according to Barani, expired in the first week of Shawwāl 716 A.H., Malik Kāfūr must have died in Zū'l Qā'd of the same year.² The interesting point in the inscriptions is that both of them are dated 718 A.H., and, as stated above, they mention the name of Kāfūr as the builder of the Bāoli. This apparently contradictory information may be reconciled if we suppose that Kāfūr began the construction of the Bāoli during his lifetime, but that it was completed two years after his demise when the inscriptions were set up.

The script of both the inscriptions is *Naskh*, bold and rigid, typical of the inclinations of the rulers of that time. By the effects of weather the letters have been much abraded and, in the case of the Arabic inscription, the first line has entirely crumbled away. Both the inscriptions originally consisted of three lines. The written portion of the Arabic record, in its present condition, measures 4' x 8', while the Persian inscription is 3' 6" long and a foot broad.

The texts and translations of the inscriptions are given below.

Over the North-east Doorway.

PLATE XIII (a).

(1) غوث الاسلام و المسلمين رارث خلافة داره و سليمان ابي المظفر خليفة الله مبارك شاه
السلطان بن السلطان (2) خلد الله خلافة العبد الراجي الي رحمة الرباني كافور السلطاني
تقبل الله منه في سنة ثمان عشر و سبعمائه ☉

TRANSLATION.

The defence of Islam and the Muslims, heir of the kingdom of David and Solomon, Abu-l-Muzaffar Khalifatu'llāh (Vicegerent of God) Mubārak Shāh, the Sultān, son of a Sultān—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—by the servant who is expectant of Divine mercy, Kāfūr, the Royal slave,—may God accept his prayer!—in the year 718 A.H. (1318 A.D.).

Over the South-east Doorway.

PLATE XIII (b).

(1) در زمان ملك (2) سلطان الزمانه قطب دين
(2) بنده درگاه او كافور سلطاني بگفت
(3) چهار در با چهار گنبد بنگر و تاريخ آن
مالك دارالخلافة شيراز بحر و بر
تا شد اين مائين بنا باين لطافت دركدر
سال و ماه از سال هجرت هفصد و هژده شم³

¹ *Conservation Note on Bayānā*, by Sir John Marshall, dated 20th September, 1907.

² *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 208-10.

³ The metre of these lines is *Ramal*.

TRANSLATION.

During the time of the king, the Sultān of the age, the axis (basis) of religion,
 The Lord of the capital, the monarch of sea and land,
 The servant of his court, Kāfir, the Royal slave, ordered,
 Hence this reservoir (lit., water-building) with water so pure in such a muddy (environ).
 Behold the four doors with four domes, and the date,
 Calculate it 718, in the Hijra era. 1318 A.D.

XXXV.—Inscription of Mubārak Shāh Khaljī in the Poet Mir Ḥasan's Tomb at
 Khuldābād, Aurangabād District.

Khuldābād, better known by its original name, Rauza (the Garden), is situated nine miles north of the Daulatabād Railway Station and seven miles off the Daulatabād Fort. It is a picturesque little town abounding in the tombs of saints who came out to the Deccan as missionaries in the wake of the early Muslim conquerors.¹ In 1707, Aurangzeb solicitously selected Rauza as his last resting place and this choice gave the town the modern name of Khuldābād after the title of the emperor, Khuld Makānī (of Heavenly abode).

The tomb of the Poet Mir Ḥasan² is situated about 3 furlongs to the south-west of Khuldābād and comprises a small mosque and an open court enclosed by a wall. To the west of the poet's tomb, but in the same enclosure, is the grave of Malik Chhajjū, the nephew of Balban.³ Near the latter grave the tablet of the present inscription is lying. The tablet has no connection with Malik Chhajjū's tomb and originally belonged either to the mosque within the enclosure or to some other building in the vicinity of which no trace exists now. The tablet is of a pinkish sandstone and measures 3' 10" × 1'.

The inscription commemorates the erection of a building in 719 A.H. (1319 A.D.), during the reign of Mubārak Shāh Khaljī, by one 'Ambar, grand-usher to Khusrāu Khān.⁴ According to Baranī, Mubārak Khaljī set out to punish Harpāl Deo and Rāmdeo, who had taken possession of Deogir, in 718 A.H., and, according to the same author, it was after the capture of the Fort that he granted a canopy to Khusrāu Khān and deputed him with a large army for the conquest of Mā'bar.⁵ The date, 719 A.H., given in the inscription, is therefore in agreement with the above events.

The inscription is in Persian verse and consists of four lines. The metre is *Hazaj*. The style of writing is *Naskh*, of rather a crude character and poorer in effect than the contemporary script of Delhi. This may be accounted for by the assumption that the king came out to Deogir to punish the Hindu Rajas, and might not have brought any calligrapher in his retinue.

¹ Lt.-Col. T. W. Haig in his interesting book, *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan* (Pioneer Press), has given a short but lucid account of the tombs at Rauza.

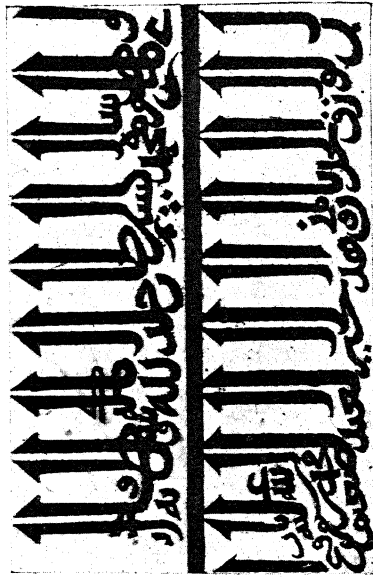
² He was one of the Court-poets of Sultān 'Ala'u-d-Dīn Khaljī to whom most of his laudatory poems are addressed. When Muḥammad Bin Tughlaq in 727 A.H. forcibly removed the inhabitants of Delhi to his new capital, Deogir, Mir Ḥasan went with them and died there in the same year. See *Badā' unī*, Vol. I, p. 226, *Baranī*, pp. 67, 359, and *Rieu* (Catalogue), Vol. I, p. 618.

³ For the particulars of Malik Chhajjū's life see *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 520, Vol. III, pp. 135, 137-40, 536.

⁴ For information about him see *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 211, 215, 219, 222-23, 226, 558, 564, 604-05, 607.

⁵ *Idem*, pp. 214-15.

(a) Inscription of 'Ala' u-d-Din Khalji (copied from Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. XX.)



(b) Inscription of Mubarak Shah Khalji from Khuldabad (Aurangabad).



Scale 166.

I have deciphered the text as follows :—

PLATE XXIV (b).

- (1) بعهد دولت سلطان عالم * که عدلش در جهان چون شمس تابان
 (2) شه گیتی قطب دین و دنیا * مبارک شاه سلطان ابن سلطان
 (3) بنا کرد این عمارت بنده عنبر * یکی از (?) حجاب اعظم خسرو خان
 (4) محرم ماه بود از عشر اول * و از تاریخ هفصد نوزده دان¹

TRANSLATION.

(1) In the reign of the king of the universe, whose justice is shining in the world like the Sun ;

(2) The lord of the universe, the axis of the faith and the world, Mubārak Shāh, the Sultān, son of a Sultān,

(3) The slave 'Ambar, (who is) one of the chief-ushers of Khusrau Khān, built this mosque.

(4) It was the first decade of the month of Muḥarram, and you should know the year as 719 A.H. (1319 A.D.).

XXXVI.—Inscription of Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak Shāh in the Ukha Masjid, Bayānā, dated 720 A.H. (1320 A.D.).

The Ukha Masjid is one of the largest buildings in Bayānā, and occupies a space of 124' in length from east to west by 74' from north to south.² The plan of the building comprises a prayer-hall, which is four aisles deep, a courtyard with cloisters on the north and south sides (those on the south being a single aisle, while those on the north form a double aisle), and a gateway. The mosque was originally a Hindu temple, in which considerable additions and alterations have been made by the Muslims, although the inner side of the entrance retains its old Hindu arrangement. About the façade of the gateway Sir John Marshall, who inspected the monument in 1905, remarks—"The chief beauty of the structure lies in its entrance, the details of which call vividly to mind much of the ornamentation in the Quṭb buildings."³

The inscription, which is set over the archway of the entrance gate, records the erection of a mosque by Kāfūr Sultānī, in the reign of Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak Shāh, whose titles are given in full. The date written at the end of the inscription is 720 A.H. and it appears that this building also, like the Jhālar Bāoli, was completed after Kāfūr's death (*ante*, p. 39).

The style of writing is *Naskh* of an elegant type; but the letters have been much injured by the effects of weather. The language is Arabic. The inscriptional tablet measures 5' 6" × 1' 3".

¹ The metre of these lines is *Hazaj*.

² For a full description of the building see *A. S. R.*, Vol. XX, p. 71. The name Ukha (Uṣā) Masjid was framed by Cunningham, who selected the title for the sake of distinguishing the building from the adjoining temple, which is called Ukha Mandir.

³ *Conservation Note on Bayānā*, by Sir John Marshall, dated 20th September, 1919.

I have deciphered the text as follows :—

PLATE XIII (c).

(1) امر بنا هذه العمارة المباركة الشريفة اللطيفة في عهد السلطان العالم العادل المعظم
مولى ملوك الشرق العرب والعجم مشيد قواعد الاحسان (2) الجود والكرام ظل الله
في الارضين قطب الدنيا والدين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين مغيث الملوك والسلاطين وارث
خلافة داود وسليمان ابي المظفر خليفة الله مبارك شاه (3) السلطان ابن السلطان خلد الله
سلطانه و ابد خلافته العبد الراجي الى عفو الغفار كافر السلطاني في سنة عشرين و
سبعمائه ○

TRANSLATION.

The slave, soliciting the pardon of the Merciful (God), Kāfūr Sultān,¹ ordered the construction of this auspicious, noble and fine building, in the reign of the king of the world, the just, the most exalted, the king of the kings of the East—of Arabia and non-Arab countries—the confirmer of principles of benevolence of generosity and munificence, the shadow of God in the universe, Quṭb-d-dunya waddīn, the defence of Islām and the Muslims, the helper of kings and monarchs, the successor to the kingdom of David and Solomon, Abu-l-Muzaffar Khālifatū'llah Mubārak Shāh, the Sultān, son of a Sultān—may God perpetuate his kingdom! in the year 720 A.H. (1320 A.D.).

XXXVII.—Inscription of Mubārak Shāh from Bhuilī (Mirzāpūr).

The inscription is engraved on a red sandstone tablet (2' × 1' 6") fixed in the lower wall of a mosque in Dakhni Tola at Bhuilī in the Mirzāpūr District.² The original building of the mosque seems to have decayed altogether, for the present structure is quite modern and has a tiled roof. The prayer-hall has three arched openings and measures 32' 7" × 9' 10".

Cunningham has referred to the inscription in *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 130; but, as the letters are much worn out, he could read only the name of the king. The inscription consists of five lines of Persian verse and is written in the *Naskh* characters. The metre is *Muzūri*.

I make out the epigraph as follows :—

PLATE XIV (b).

(1) فضل خدای بین کزو اسلام تازه شد یگا عهد مملکت شهریار
(2) سلطان ابن سلطان شاه مبارک آنکه قطبی است کو خلیفه عالم ... شد
* * * * * (3-5)

TRANSLATION.

(1) See the grace of God that through him (the king) Islām has been revived of age, the lord of the kingdom

(2) The Sultān, son of a Sultān, Shāh Mubārak, who is a Quṭb (Chief) who has become the lord of the upper world.

(3-5) * * * * *

¹ In the inscription the name of Kāfūr occurs after the name of the king.

² Bhuilī is mentioned in the *Tabaqat* (English translation, p. 550) as a *pargana* included in the fief of Muḥammad Bakhtiyār.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE QUTB SHĀHĪ KINGS IN HYDERABAD CITY AND SUBURBS.

By G. YAZDANI.

This essay is the third instalment of my contributions to this Journal on the inscriptions of the Qutb Shāhī kings of Golconda and deals with thirteen epigraphs,¹ beginning with the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh, the builder of the city of Hyderabad and coming down to the reign of Abul Hasan, after whom the dynasty became extinct. The inscriptions are of considerable importance to the antiquary, as fixing with precision the dates of several monuments of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty; but their chief interest however lies in the variety and elegance of their scripts.

The inscription over the door of the Jāmi' Masjid, written by Bābā Khān, represents perhaps the finest example of the *Nastā'liq* script in the Deccan (Pl. XVII a). Another inscription from this building (Pl. XVI) and the *Nādi 'Alī* on the grave of Khadija in the Mir Ka Dā'ira (Pl. XVIII a) are good specimens of the ornamental *Naskh* which, in a simple form, assumed the name of *Thulth*; but, when becoming intricate and pictorial, was styled *Tughrā*. The bold sweeping curves and fine, crisp vertical and horizontal strokes of these inscriptions exhibit art of a high order and they may compare favourably with the best calligraphic specimens of other countries.

Another inscription of this set, which is fixed over the eastern doorway of Miyan Mishk's Tomb, is interesting, as showing the style of writing called *Shikasta*, which had its origin from *Nastā'liq*, but, through the vagaries of the calligraphist's fancy, assumed most subtle forms, and in some cases became absolutely illegible. This style, however, on account of its freedom from the conventional rules, has been the popular script of India from the sixteenth century onwards; and, although now its use, owing to difficulty in reading it, has been given up, yet old men adhere to this script in private life.

This essay brings to a close the survey of the inscriptions of the Qutb Shāhī kings in the City of Hyderabad and Suburbs, including the Golconda Fort and Tombs; but, as the territory under the sway of these kings included the larger part of the country now under His Exalted Highness the Nizam, as well as several districts south of the Krishna, at present forming part of the Madras Presidency, I am collecting material for another essay, in which I shall deal with those inscriptions, which were set up in the various towns of the Qutb Shāhī kingdom, outside the capital. I need hardly say that I shall deeply appreciate any help which Government officials or private gentlemen may kindly give me, by reporting to me the localities of the inscriptions of the dynasty within their knowledge.

I-II.—Inscriptions in the Jāmi' Masjid, Hyderabad City.

The mosque is one of the earliest buildings erected by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh (1580-1612) to adorn his newly founded capital, Hyderabad, or Bhāgnagar, as it was originally styled. Firishta mentions it along with the Chār Minār and writes—"Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah built an elegant masjid in the middle of the city."²

¹ I have not included in this paper the two short inscriptions in the Bādshāhī 'Āshūr Khāna giving the names of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh and 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh. For a description of this building see *Annual Report Archaeological Department, His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions*, 1914-15, p. 3.

² *Briggs*, III, 452.

The city of Hyderabad has expanded in an irregular manner since Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh's time, and a dense growth of houses and shops envelops the exterior of the Jāmi' Masjid, entirely spoiling the beauty of its original surroundings—the *Chār Minār* square, the *Chār Kamān piazza* and the Royal palaces.¹

Entering through a door built in the pillar-and-lintel style, the visitor passes through a narrow lane, at the end of which he gets a side view of the mosque. The interior is still imposing and the spacious hall, the massive row of pillars, and the beautiful arches and minarets give an idea of the breadth of vision and lofty idealism of the builder.

The plan of the building consists of a double hall (72' 6" × 32' 6") with seven arched openings, a paved courtyard (74' × 70') and a cistern at the north-eastern end of the courtyard. Two lofty minarets stand at the N.-E. and S.-E. corners of the hall and a narrow colonnade with nine openings in the pillar-and-lintel style, runs along the northern side of the courtyard.

The building has two inscriptions, one carved in three lines on a slab of black basalt (7' × 2') fixed over the entrance door of the mosque and another engraved along the sides (each 13' × 1' 5") and top (8' 7" × 1' 5") of the prayer niche. The former is in Persian verse and written in very beautiful *Tā'liq* characters. The name of the king is omitted in the inscription, but the name of his minister, Aminu-l-Mulk, under whose superintendence the mosque was built, is mentioned. Aminu-l-Mulk held the distinguished office of Mir Jumla immediately before the famous Sayyid Mir Muḥammad Amin of Astrabād, who is better known in history by his official designation than by his real name. Aminu-l-Mulk was an accomplished general and he distinguished himself in quelling the rebellions of petty Hindu Rajas which took place in the middle of Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh's reign.²

The name of the calligrapher is Bābā Khān who seems to have been a Persian artist, I have read the inscription as follows:—

PLATE XVII (a).

که نیکی دیده در عهدش نکوئی ³	*	جهانداری بشاهان شهر یاری
زلعلش سر زند چون گفتگوی	*	دل آسایش کند جان تازه ⁴ گردد
گلستان ارم گردیده روی	*	زمین را رشک جنت کرد خلقي ⁵
که در سقش فلک گردیده گوی	*	بامر عالی خود مسجدی ساخت
کند هر لحظه جنت رفت روی ⁶	*	مگر در پیش صحن ار نماید
تقاضای مسلمانی علوی	*	بنام خوش در آنجا می نماید
زهی عالی بنای خیر گوی ⁷	*	کسی پرسد اگر تاریخ او را

تمام گشت بسعی ملک امین الملک

حرره بابا خان

¹ For a description of these monuments see *Thevenot* (Pt. III, pp. 94-96) and *Tavernier*, Vol. I, pp. 152-53.

² *Briggs*, III, 461-69.

³ The metre of these lines is *Hazaj*.

⁴ Haig read this word as *یاره*, *E. I. M.*, 1907-8, p. 28.

⁵ Haig's reading is *گردانید*.

⁶ The second hemistich of line 5 and first hemistich of line 6 have been left out by Haig.

⁷ The chronogram gives the year 1006 A.H. corresponding to 1597 A.D.

(a) Inscription over the doorway of the Jami' Masjid, Hyderabad City.



Scale 'III

(b) Inscription on the grave of Khadija Bi in Mir-ka-Daira, Hyderabad City.



Scale '333

TRANSLATION.

(1) The lord of the world, the king of kings; in whose reign the virtuous received generous treatment.

(2) The heart is consoled, the soul is refreshed when his ruby (lips) make a speech.

(3) His courteous manners have made this earth the envy of Paradise, and his (beautiful) face shows the rose garden of Iram.¹

(4) By his own exalted order he built a mosque, below the roof of which heaven revolves like a ball.

(5) (Paradise in the hope that) perchance it may be seen in the courtyard of the mosque, flits in and out continuously.²

(6) I am proud of this that there the pre-eminence of Islam (over other religions) is well proved.

(7) Should any one ask the date of its erection say, "How excellent is this lofty and beneficent building."

Completed by the efforts of Malik Aminu-l-Mulk.

Written by Bābā Khān.

The inscription in the prayer-niche consists of an extract from the Qur'ān (Chap. II, verses 137-38), the name of the calligrapher, Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad, son of Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain, of Shiraz and the date 1006 A.H. (1597 A.D.). The interesting point about this inscription is that the characters and the style of writing are absolutely identical with those of the inscription carved in the prayer-niche of the Great Mosque in the Golconda Tombs and published in the last number of this Journal (pp. 35-6, Pl. XI). As the present epigraph is dated 1006 A.H. it is seventy-one years earlier than its rival in the mosque of the Golconda Tombs, which is dated 1077 A.H. and is evidently a copy of the former inscription. In India calligraphers have never refrained from copying the writing of earlier master-artists and in some cases they have copied their names as well to pass off the work of their masters as their own.

The name of the artist in this inscription is recorded thus:—

PLATE XVI.

كتبه العبد ابن جمال الدين حسين جلال الدين محمد الفخار الشيرازي في ١٠٠٦

TRANSLATION.

Written by the servant, Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Al-Fakhkhār, son of Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain, of Shiraz, in the year 1006 A.H. (1597 A.D.).

III.—Inscriptions on the tomb of Bibi Khadija in Mir Ka Dā'ira, Hyderabad.

Mir Ka Dā'ira is a large necropolis in the city of Hyderabad, containing hundreds of dressed stone graves.³ The principal tomb there, on account of which the necropolis seems to have been established, is the shrine of Mir Momin of Astrabad. He was a minister (*Wakilu-s-Salṭanat*) to Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, and his memory is held sacred to this day among the Shiites on account of his piety, learning and intuitive knowledge.⁴

¹ The garden said to have been laid out by Shaddād in emulation of the gardens of Paradise.

² The poet wants to say that Paradise is anxious to have itself associated or identified with the courtyard of the mosque on account of its extreme beauty, so Paradise is moving about in the courtyard. The line may also be translated thus—

"If Paradise happen to appear before the courtyard of the mosque, it would (gladly) sweep the courtyard every moment."

³ The great satirist and historian of Aurangzeb's reign, Ni'mat Khān 'Alī, is buried here.

⁴ For Mir Momin see *Ḥadiqatu-l-'Ālam* (Hyderabad lithograph), pp. 238-39.

The tomb of Bibi Khadija is a small structure consisting of a square hall (22' 8" each way) crowned with a heavy dome. The grave is built at the centre of the hall and is profusely decorated with religious texts. The styles of writing exhibited on the grave are highly artistic and a specimen of them is reproduced in this essay as Pl. XVIII a.

The religious texts are carved in this order :—

Head tablet	The <u>Shiite</u> Durūd.
Top slab of the sarcophagus	The <u>Shiite</u> creed, Qur'ān (Ch. II, verse 256, and Ch. III, verse 16) and the date 1032 A.H.
Side slabs of the sarcophagus	Band I, <i>Nādi 'Alī</i> , Qur'ān (Ch. XXXIII, verse 56).
	Band II, Qur'ān (Chaps. XCVII, CIX and CXII-XIV).
	Band III, Qur'ān (Ch. II, verses 285-86).

The epitaph is carved in Band I and I have deciphered it as follows :—

PLATE XVII (b).

فوت عفيفة صالحة صابغة ساجدة بي بي خديجة بنت سيد مير علي استر آبادي شيخ ارند
بتاريخ عاشر جمادي الاول سنة ١٠٣١ هـ

TRANSLATION.

The death of the chaste, pious, austere (lit., continually fasting) and devout (lit., continually prostrate in adoration) lady, Khadija, daughter of Sayyid Mir 'Alī of Astarabād,¹ the Shaikh of Awand,² occurred on the 10th of Jumada I, 1031 A.H. (Wednesday, 13th March 1622 A.D.).

IV.—Inscriptions in the Pavilions of Mā'i Sāhibā's Tank, Hyderabad.

On the road which runs from Khairatabād to Golconda, about half a mile from the former place, is situated the tank of Mā'i Sāhibā. It is about a mile and three quarters in circumference and, although the larger part of it is silted up now, it would originally have been a picturesque sight, being surrounded on three sides with ranges of granite rocks, and on the fourth side being bounded with a massive *band* about three furlongs in length. At either end of the *band* stands a large tower rectangular in plan and built of solid masonry.

The tower at the south-east end of the *band* comprises two storeys; in the lower storey a sluice gate has been built for the exit of surplus water, while the upper consists of a hall (22' × 11' 6") with three arched openings and a terrace (28' × 7') facing the waters of the tank. The hall was apparently resorted to as a pleasure pavilion in the rainy season, when the wavelets of the tank together with the surrounding rocky hills must have offered a picturesque sight.

The tower at the south-west end of the *band* comprises three storeys; the lowest containing the sluice gate, the middle a terrace (27' × 7') and a hall (22' × 11' 6") and the top a hall only.

¹ 36° 40' N. Lat. and 54½° E. Long.; town near the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea.

² *Awand*, furniture particularly belonging to the kitchen, as pots, pans or other vessels. The title Shaikh *Awand*, 'master of the pot,' or 'master of the drinking-vessel,' seems to have been given to this gentleman in a spiritual sense for his leadership in religious matters.

TRANSLATION.

The mind, (filled) with high aspirations, of Her Highness, the source of felicity (lit., who increases the felicity) to the family (noted for its) fidelity and chastity, *Khānam Āgha*, daughter of *Mir Maqṣūd 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā*, is always disposed to meet the requirements of the public (lit., to raising the pillars of utility of various kinds for all people, high or low) : accordingly, having taken in view the end of (worldly) affairs and consequences of (earthly) pursuits, the tank which is situated in the vicinity of the market of *Khairabād* has been built by her, in order that living beings of various classes may be convenienceed thereby and that a continual blessing (of this charitable work) may rest till the resurrection upon the founder as well as on those who have assisted (in the building of the tank). Now, in 1034 A.H. the above tank has been awarded by us (King *Muḥammad Qutb Shāh*—1020-35 A.H.) to the refuge of Sayyids and persons of noble birth, *Shāh Khundkār*, son of the noble and exalted *Shāh Muḥammad al-Ḥusaini*.

VERSE.

The object is that an (indelible) impression from us may remain (on the tablet of Time) ;
Otherwise in the (earthly) existence we see no permanence.

V.—Inscriptions in *Raḥīm Khān's Mosque, Hyderabad*.

In the old city of Hyderabad, along the road which runs from the *Purāna Pul* to *Golconda* some of the most beautiful monuments of the *Qutb Shāhi* period may be seen. They comprise shrines, mosques, baths, *sarais* and dwelling houses, and, as some of them have inscriptions, they will be noticed in this paper.

Raḥīm Khān's mosque belongs to the above group of monuments and is situated at a short distance from the *Purāna Pul*. It is a small structure, comprising a prayer-hall (27' × 18') flanked with two minarets and a small paved courtyard. In front of the courtyard there are a well, and a terrace with nine graves on it.

At the western end of the prayer-hall there is a semi-decagonal niche, which is decorated with inscribed panels, containing the Throne Verse. The style of writing is *Tughā* of an extremely fine type. The name of the calligrapher, which occurs at the end of the inscription, is *Mir 'Alī*.

The façade of the prayer-hall is also adorned with a row of inscribed panels, which comprise the *Shiite Durūd*, the Qur'anic phrase —

نصر من الله وفتح قريب وبشر المؤمنين

and three Persian verses, containing the name of the builder of the mosque and a chronogram regarding the date of its construction. The style of writing of this inscription is *Naskh* of an ornamental type.

The panels containing the Persian verses measure jointly 7' 6" × 9". I have deciphered the verses as follows :—

PLATE XIX (b).

که از بندگان قطبش هست	*	السعادت نشان رحیم خان
چو تمام شد چو صلح هست	*	صفایی مسجد جانفزای ار
ده این سجده گاه مهر و مهست	*	یسال هزار و پنجاه و سه سپهر گفت

In the top storeys of both the towers, there are inscriptions carved on tablets of polished black stone.¹ The texts of these epigraphs are almost identical, the difference being that the inscription in the tower at the south-west end of the *band* does not contain lines 8 and 9 of the inscription in the other tower.

The style of writing is *Naskh* of a very fine type and the language is Persian. The calligrapher in arranging the lines on the tablet has, in more than one place, split the words, contrary to the rules of Persian orthography. In my reading of the text, given below, these irregularities have been pointed out.

The inscriptions commemorate the building of a tank by *Khānam Āgha*, daughter of Mir Maqṣūd 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā,² and subsequently the gift of the same tank by that lady to Shāh Khundkār. *Khānam Āgha* was the wife of Prince Mirzā Muḥammad Amin, the youngest son of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh (1550-80 A.D.) and mother of Muḥammad Qutb Shāh, the sixth king of the dynasty (1612-26 A.D.). The mention of the name of *Khānam Āgha*'s father in the inscription incidentally throws light on the influence of the Ṭabāṭabā Sayyids, during the reign of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and the rules of his son and grandson, Muḥammad Qulī and Muḥammad Qutb Shāh, a fact also recorded by Firīšta who writes :—

"Ibrahim Koolly Kootb Shah left three sons, the eldest of whom, Mahomed Koolly, succeeded to the throne at the age of twelve. He immediately married the daughter of Shah Nizam Isfahany, a syud of the Tubatibba tribe who had long held the office of Ameer Joomla under the late king. At the Syud's instigation the King marched to co-operate with Syud Moortuza Subzwary, the general of Ahmudnuggur."³

Shāh Khundkār, to whom the tank was awarded, is the same person whose epitaph we have noticed in the last number of this Journal (1915-16, p. 33). He died in 1045 A.H. (1635-36 A.D.).

My reading of the text is given below :—

PLATE XVIII (b).

(1) همواره همت والا نهمت⁴ علیا حضرت سعادت افزای خاندان وفا و عفت (2)
خانم آغا بنت میر مقصود علی طبا طببا بر ارتفاع ارکان (3) اقسام رفاهیت جمهر انام از طبقه
خاص و طایفه عوام مبذول⁵ و مصروفست بنا برین نظر اعتبار بر خواتم امور و عواقب
کار (4) گماشته حوضی در سواد پنت خیر اباد⁶ معمار کرده خردش (5) ست⁷ که اصناف
ذی حیات آسایش یابند و ثواب جاری آن تا (6) قیام قیامت بروزگار بانی⁸ و سامعی عاید
و راجع باشد درین و (7) لا⁹ حوض مذکور بانعام سیادت و نجات پناه شاه خوندکار ابن
سیادت و معالی دستگاه شاه محمد الحسینی مقرر فرموده ایم فی ۱۰۳۴ ©
غرض نقشیست کز ما باز ماند * که هستی را نمی بینم بقای¹⁰

¹ The tablet in the S.-E. tower measures 2' 7" x 1' 6", while that in the S.-W. tower is 3' x 2'.

² *Ṭabāṭabā*, the surname of the great-great-grandson of 'Alī, Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm, on account of his pronouncing the letter ق like ط. Descendants of Ṭabāṭabā are called *Ṭabāṭabā'ī*.

³ *Briggs*, Vol. III, p. 333.

⁴ Lieut.-Col. Haig who has published the text and a translation of the inscription in *E. I. M.*, 1907-8, read this word as همت instead of نهمت.

⁵ The calligrapher has written the *lām* of مبذول in line 3 while the first four letters of the word مبذول are written in line 2. This splitting of the word is contrary to the rules of Persian grammar.

⁶ Haig could not make out the word پنت properly, which is a Hindi term meaning 'market.' He has joined it with the following word and read the two words together as خیرات اباد, instead of خیر اباد.

⁷ Haig's reading is خوش داشت.

⁸ Haig read this word as باقی.

⁹ The calligrapher has committed a mistake of Persian orthography here also by writing the و of لا in line 6 and لا in line 7.

¹⁰ The metre of this line is *Hazaj*.

(a) Inscription on two loose slabs lying in the Toli Masjid, Hyderabad.



Scale '111

(b) Inscription on the façade of Rahim Khan's Masjid, Hyderabad.



The inscription on the two basalt tablets is in Persian verse, the metre being *Ramāl*. The style of writing is *Nasta'liq*. I have deciphered the epigraph as follows:—

PLATE XIX (a).

در زمان شاه خیر اندیش گردن بارگاه * یافت اتمام این بنا از سعی شیخ پیشوا
خواستم چون سال تاریخش ز پیر غیب گفت * شد بحکم شاه عبدالله این مسجد بنا^۱
سنه ۱۰۴۳ کتبه لطف الله الحسینی التبریزی

TRANSLATION.

In the reign of the well-wishing king of heavenly court,
This building was completed through the efforts of the Shāikh, the leader.
When I asked the Invisible Inspirer for a chronogram of the building; he said,
“This mosque was built by the order of King ‘Abdullah.”

Written by Lutfullah al-Husaini at-Tabrezi, 1043 A.H. (1633 A.D.).

The other inscription in the Toli Masjid is also in Persian verse, and consists of two lines. The style of writing is *Naskh*. I have deciphered it as follows:—

PLATE XX (a).

للمن الملك الیوم لله الواحد القهار

موسی خان بنا کرد این مسجدش * که شد مستعد درر عبد الله شاه^۲
بتاریخ مسجد چنین شد ندا * بنا کرد مسجد بنام خدا^۳
سنه ۱۰۸۲

TRANSLATION.

For whom is the Kingdom today? For God, the One, the All-powerful.

Mūsā Khān built this mosque of his

Which was completed in the reign of Shāh ‘Abdullah.

As a chronogram of the mosque this was heard (from the Invisible Speaker):

“Built the mosque in the name of God.” 1082 A.H.=1671 A.D.

VIII-XIII.—Inscriptions in the Tomb of Miyan Mishk, Hyderabad.

Miyan Mishk's name does not occur in contemporary history, the reason being that no detailed account of the reign of Abul Hasan is preserved, only casual references occurring in Mughal chronicles and English, French and other foreign records. The inscriptions on his tomb, however, disclose him to be a secretary of the king, holding the charge of the Royal key, and also the high office of the Commander of the Carnatic troops. The name Mishk shows him to be of African origin, the people of which stock have played no insignificant part in the history of

¹ In calculating the numerical value of letters for the chronogram the *lām* of ‘Abdullah which is double (مشدد) will be counted twice.

² For the sake of rhyme *Shāh* should be read without *hā* here.

³ The metre of these lines is *Mutaqārib*.

TRANSLATION.

The august (personage), Raḥīm Khān,
 Who is a servant of Qutb Shāh.
 The serenity of his soul-inspiring mosque
 When completed, is like the morning time.
 In the year 1053 A.H. (1643-44 A.D.) the sky announced ;
 Verily it is the place of adoration of the sun and the moon.

VI-VII.—Inscriptions in the Toli Masjid, Hyderabad.

This mosque also belongs to the group of monuments situated on the Golconda road and it was built by Mūsā Khān, a dignitary of the court of 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh.¹ The architecture of the building is discussed in some detail in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions for 1916-17, pp. 3-5,² and I give below an extract from it:—

"The mosque is situated within an extensive enclosure which originally had a large garden, but no vestige of it remains now. Flights of steps on three sides—east, north and south—lead the visitor to an elevated terrace (6 ft. high) forming the courtyard of the mosque. The prayer-hall is four feet higher and consists of a double hall, the outer apartment having five arched openings and the inner only three, the place of the extreme openings towards north and south being occupied by two niches built in the pillar-and-lintel style. In the inner hall at the western end there is a prayer-niche in the form of a semi-decagon. Two lofty minarets (60 ft. high approximately) flank the building at each side (north and south) and a number of smaller cupolas adorn the roof. The lower part of the mosque up to the roof is built of ashlar masonry, while the upper part is constructed of brick and lime, probably to carry cut-plaster decorations.

"The chief features of the building are its decorations which show a strong Hindu influence. To wit, the circular earthen pot (*kalasa*) which is so common a motif in Hindu architectural ornamentation is largely adopted here—(1) the shafts of the minarets rise from pot-shaped bases; (2) the façade is adorned with rows of black basalt pots cut in relief. Again, elephant-tusk brackets which are absolutely Hindu in origin, have been used profusely in the mosque. Further, there are niches in the pillar-and-lintel style identical in form with niches in temples for the accommodation of images. Another Hindu feature, which may escape the notice of a casual visitor, is that just as the Hindu adorns the exterior surface of the temple with miniature *sikhara*s and other architectural detail, in this mosque also the tops of niches are adorned with miniature mosques and minarets."

The minor architectural forms and decorative motifs described, in the last paragraph, are of course Hindu; but they have been blended in the general style of the monument with consummate skill and the result shows a picturesqueness of detail, combined with soundness of structural elements.

The mosque has two inscriptions. One of them is carved on two tablets of black basalt, each measuring 3' 2" × 1' 3". The tablets are lying loose in the courtyard of the mosque near a grave with which they apparently have no connection, for the inscription carved on the tablets records the erection of a mosque in 1043 A.H. during the reign of 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh. This mosque is different from the Toli Masjid, which, according to the inscription set up in its prayer-niche, was built by Mūsā Khān in 1082 A.H.

¹ Mūsā Khān held the office of Maḥallidār (Lord Chamberlain); but in time of war he played also the rôle of a general. For the particulars of his life see *E. I. M.*, 1913-14, pp. 51-3, and *Muntahā-i-Inbāʾ* (Bibl. Ind.), Vol. II, p. 311.

² This report contains also two photographs and a plan of the building (Plates II-III).

من الله يوم الله الواحد القهار
 موتی خان بنا کرد این مسجدش که شد مستعد دود و بنای عبد الله
 بتایخ مسجد جین شد اند اینا کرد مسجد بنا مر خدا ۸۲۰ هـ

Scale '2

(b) Inscription over the western doorway of Mian Mishk's Tomb, Hyderabad.



the Deccan. The tomb of Miṣṣān Miṣḥk is situated near the eastern end of the Purāna Pul and consists of a spacious quadrangle (145' × 116'), which is enclosed by a high wall and entered by two low gateways facing the East and West. On the façades of each of these gateways inscriptional tablets are fixed which bear the *farmāns* of king Abul Ḥasan, describing in detail the revenues set apart for the maintenance of the tomb (Pls. XXb-XXI). On the inner face of the enclosure wall, near the eastern gateway, there is another inscription, which records the erection of a building in 1035 A.H. (1625 A.D.), during the reign of Muḥammad Qutb Shāh (Pl. XVIII c). This epigraph apparently has no connection with the tomb of Miṣṣān Miṣḥk and seems to have been brought to its present place, at the demolition of the building on which it was originally set up.

The tomb itself stands on a platform 5 ft. high and measuring 39 ft. on each side. The grave chamber is entered by three doorways—on the East, West and South—and the interior measures 16' 6" each way. A polished black stone tablet, which bears the epitaph, is set up at the North end of the grave (Pl. XXIII b). Another inscriptional tablet is fixed over the southern doorway of the sepulchre (Pl. XXII). It bears a *farmān* of king Abul Ḥasan, which is similar as regards its contents to the two *farmāns*, carved over the eastern and western gateways of the tomb (Pls. XXb-XXI).

The chief interest of these inscriptions lies in the variety and picturesqueness of their scripts. To wit, the inscription over the eastern gateway is a fine example of the *Shikasta* script (Pl. XXI), while the other epigraphs represent a style which is a combination of *Thulth* and *Tughra* (Pls. XX b, XXII and XXIII b).

The texts of the inscriptions as deciphered by me are given below in chronological order.

(1) *Inscription over the Western Gateway.*

PLATE XX (b).

نقل فرمان سلطان ابرالحسن قطبشاه

(1) فرمان جهان مطاع و آسمان ارتفاع از دیوان همایون خلافت مشهور چنان زبنت
صدر یافت که عاملان (2) متصدیان و کارکنان حال و استقبال کتوالخانه و تهانه مقاصدیان (۳)
مستعد پور بعنایت شاهانه مستظهر بوده بدانند که مقرب الحضرت الحاقانی ملک مشک
سر لشکر (3) کرناٹک بعرض مقیمان حضور لامع النور رسانید که حاصل بازار تعلق مسجد
مشار الیه خارج سالیانه مبلغ هشتاد هون که تفصیل
آن در فرمان ملکها محمد نگر (4) و دوکانها (۵) بازار در طرفه
مسجد اخراجات لنکر عاشور و الاره و آبدارخانه
و فرش و روشنائی مسجد مزبور و اخراجات دیگر عنایت و مرحمت شود
لهذا التماس مومی الیه (5) بدرجۀ قبول رسیده و هشتاد هون مسطور فوق بآنچه از معموری بازار
مذکور بهم رسد جهت اخراجات لنکر و عاشور و الاره و اخراجات مسجد عنایت و مرحمت فرمودیم
امر عالی صادر است که سال بسال بلا خلل (6) جاری داشته از تغیر و تبدل باشد

کسی که از حکم عالی ما تخلف ورزد یا آنکه مبلغ مذکور را متصرف شده باخراجات مسطره صرف نکند بغضب خدا و نفرین رسول خدا و ائمه هدی گرفتار شود تحریرا فی التاريخ شهر محرم فی ۱۰۸۵ کتبه حسین بن تقی^۱

TRANSLATION.

Copy of the farmān of Sulṭān Abul Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh.

This decree, obeyed by the world and as exalted as heaven, has received the honour of issuing from the auspicious court, filled with imperial dignity, to this effect that the present and future revenue officers, accountants and subordinate establishment of the *Kutwālkhāna* and *Thāna*² of Musta'iddpūr, having been protected by Royal grace, should know that the trusted servant of the Imperial court, Malik Mišk, the Commander of the Carnatic Troops, has been granted the honour of laying this request before those standing in the resplendent court that the income of the bazaar attached to the mosque of the above-mentioned (Malik Mišk), besides the annual grant of 80 *huns*³ as detailed in the *farmān* shops and stalls on both sides of the bazaar of the Masjid be graciously awarded and endowed for the expenses to be incurred in connection with the feeding of the poor, the religious ceremonies of the first ten days of Muḥarram, and the maintenance of the *Alāwā* and *Ābdār Khāna*⁴ and the lights and carpets of the above mosque, as also for (similar) other expenses. Accordingly, the request of the aforesaid (Miyan Mišk) having been granted, we have awarded and endowed the eighty *huns* referred to above, in addition to that which may be collected from the rents of the bazaar, for the expenses to be incurred in feeding the poor, the religious ceremonies of the first ten days of Muḥarram and the maintenance of the *Alāwā* and the mosque. The august command is being issued that the endowment should be continued without any deviation from year to year Whoever disobeys our high order or appropriates the endowment for such purposes as are not indicated above, shall be overtaken by the anger of God and the imprecation of the Prophet of God and the *Imāms* of (the path of) righteousness. Written in the month of Muḥarram 1085 A.H. (April, 1674). Written by Ḥusain b. Taqī.

(2-3) *Inscriptions over the Eastern Gateway.*

Arranged in a circle : the names of the twelve Imāms and the following verse—

PLATE XXIII (a).

میردهی که بتائید... حق دکن است * مجب قطب بیجان علی ابوالحسن است

TRANSLATION.

The Deccan is by Divine grace the abode of love ;
By 'Ali's life ! Abul Ḥasan is the loving chief.

Below this inscription another is carved which reads as follows :—

PLATE XXI.

(1) نقل فرمان سلطان ابوالحسن قطبشاه ۱۰ عاملان کتوالخانه و تهاده مستعد پور و موضع عطاپور حوالی قلعه مبارکه محمد نگر بوجه مستظهر بداند که معتمد الخدمت ملک مشک

¹ This inscription is carved on an arch-shaped black stone tablet which is 3' 2" high and 7' 9" wide.

² *Kutwālkhāna* and *thāna* may not be understood here as only district and town police stations ; but rather as the present day offices of the Collector and Magistrate, and the Joint Magistrate's, who regulate the collection of the revenue as also maintain order and discipline in the country under their jurisdiction.

³ *Hun*, gold coin of the Deccan about 52 grains in weight, often called pagoda.

⁴ *Alāwā*, place where incense is burnt and rites are performed to commemorate the death of Ḥusain, grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad. *Ābdār-Khāna*, lit., 'water-closet' ; but here it means the house where cold drinks are distributed to the thirsty to bless the soul of Ḥusain from whose camp the troops of Yazīd had cut off the supply of water before his murder.

(a) Inscription over the eastern doorway of
Mian-Mishk's Tomb, Hyderabad.



(b) Inscription on the tomb of
Mian Mishk, Hyderabad.



(2) کلیددار بعز عرض مقیمان حضور لامع النور رسانید که حاصل بازار مسجد خود و پنت و باغچه و سه قطعه زمین مزرعه انعام خود و وظیفه مسجد و غله زمین انعام میر ملک خرید خود که در موضع (3) مذکور واقعست بعد از اخراجات ضروری آن سیصد و بیست هون جهت لنگر عاشر و الیه [و] آبدار خانه چهل هون سالیانه جهت لنگر مسجد و روشنائی و بعضی سالیانه هشتاد هون و غله زمین انعام میر ملک (4) مشاھرہ داران لنگر مسجد و بعضی یکصد و دو هون آنرا متوای بیست هون موذن ده هون فراش شش هون تیل چراغ شش هون فرش مسجد در ربع هون مطبخ شش هون سقا شش هون جهت تعمیر مسجد بعضی دوازده هون (5) دیوتی (6) هفت نیم هون دربان دوازده هون دو نفر را جارو کش شش هون نویسنده بهمه هشت و ربع هون اخراجات حمام و مشاھرہ داران سالیانه نود و هشت هون آنرا هیزم سالیانه چهل هون و خوراک گران و دلو و ریسمان شانزده و ربع هون پله کار (9) شش هون (6) کیسه مال دو نفر را شانزده هون فراش شش هون تیل چراغ یک نیم هون حصیر و لنگی و غیره یک ربع هون مالی آب کش را دوازده هون بدین مرجب وقف صحیح شرعی نموده بنذر حضرات دوازده امام علیهم السلام نزدیک (7) مسجد خود یک حبه تجارز نموده طعام پخته بدریشان و مستحقین می خورانید، باشند اخراجات عاشر و حمام و مشاھرہ چاکران می رسانیده باشند لهذا التماس مومی الیه بدرجه قبول رسیده امر عالی صادر شد که بر نهج وقف (8) نمودن ملک مشار الیه سال بسال بلا خلل جاری داشته از تغییر و تبدیل آن اجتناب نمایند و با آنچه از روی معموری بازار و پینت و باغچه و مزرعه زمین چه بهم رسد بدل اخراجات (9) صرف نمایند کسی که تخلف ورزد یا طمع نماید مسلمان یا هندو هر که باشد بغضب و سخط خدای تعالی گرفتار شود و از شفاعت شفیع روز جزا محمد مصطفی صلی الله علیه و آله و سلم بی نصیب و سیاه زر گردد © سنه ۱۰۸۹ ه^۱

TRANSLATION.

Copy of the farmān of Sultān Abul Hasan Qutb Shāh. The (revenue) officers of the Kutwāl-khāna and Thāna of Musta'iddpūr and Manzā' (village) 'Atāpūr (which are) in the vicinity of the auspicious fort of Muḥammadnagar (Golconda), having been protected (by Royal grace) should know that the trusted servant Malik Miṣḥk, the Keeper of the Royal key, has been granted the honour of laying this request before those standing in the illustrious presence (of His

¹ The tablet on which this inscription is carved measures 5' 8" × 4' 8".

Majesty) that (1)¹ the income of the bazaar—attached to his mosque, the market, the garden, and the three pieces of cultivated land, awarded as *Inām* to him (*Miyān Mishk*), (2) the grant relating to the mosque and (3) the produce of the land situated in the above village (*Ātāpūr*), originally in possession of Mir Malik as Royal award, and afterwards purchased by him (*Miyān Mishk*), after the deduction of the necessary expenditure (to be incurred in connection with the realisation of the above revenue) amounting to three hundred and twenty *huns* should be apportioned for (the following purposes)—(i) for the charities of the *Āshūr* and the maintenance of the *Alāwā* and the *Ābdār Khāna*: forty *huns* per annum; (ii) for the alms-house of the mosque, the lights and other expenses: eighty *huns* per annum (in cash) and the produce of the land (originally) the *Inām* of Mir Malik; (iii) for the establishment of the alms-house of the mosque and for cognate purposes: one hundred and two *huns* as detailed here—the Superintendent of the mosque, twenty *huns*; the *Mu'azzin*,² ten *huns*; the *Farrāsh*,³ six *huns*; oil and lamps, six *huns*; carpets for the mosque, two and a quarter *huns*; kitchen, six *huns*; the water-carrier, six *huns*; repairs of the mosque and cognate expenses, twelve *huns*; the *Deotī*,⁴ seven and a half *huns*; the porter, twelve *huns*; the two sweepers, six *huns*; the clerk, eight and a quarter *huns* (total = 102 *huns*); (iv) for the establishment of the bath and other expenditure relating to it: ninety-eight *huns* per annum as detailed here—wood, forty *huns* per annum; fodder for oxen and ropes and buckets, sixteen and a quarter *huns*; the *Pallah Kār* (?), six *huns*; two shampooers, sixteen *huns*; the *Farrash*, six *huns*; lamps and oil, one and a half *hun*; matting, bathing-cloth, etc., one and a quarter *hun*; the *Malī* or drawer of water, twelve *huns*. The endowment, detailed above, having been made in strict accordance with the Muhammadan law, (the revenues apportioned) should be spent on charities in memory (or to bless the souls) of the twelve Imāms—may peace be upon them!—near the mosque of the aforesaid *Miyān Mishk* and not the smallest deviation (from the above endowment) should be made. Food should be prepared and given to the poor and the deserving, and the expenses of the *Āshūr* and the Bath and the salary of the establishment, be (regularly) paid. Accordingly, the request of the aforesaid (*Miyān Mishk*) having been accepted, this exalted order has been issued that the endowment made by the above Malik (*Mishk*) should be continued without fail from year to year and any alteration or change (therein) avoided. And whatsoever be collected from the rents of the bazaar, the market, the garden and the cultivated land irrigated by the well, should be utilized to meet the expenditure (detailed above). Whoever will disobey this order or encourage deviation therefrom (lit., will show temptation)—whether he be Hindu or Musalmān—shall be overtaken by divine wrath and displeasure, and, being deprived of the intercession of the Intercessor of the Day of Judgment, Muḥammad, the chosen—may God bless and assoil him and his descendants!—he shall be stricken with misfortune and shall be crest-fallen (lit., have a dark face). In the year 1089 A.H. (1677 A.D.).

(4) *Inscription on the inner side of the enclosure wall near the Eastern Gateway.*

PLATE XVIII (c).

الحمد لله والمنة له باتمام رسيد اين عمارت فايز النور مسمي بجادر خانة حضر نامدار (؟)
حسب الحكم شاه اعظم خاتان معظم ابوالمظفر محمد قطبشاه خلد ملكه ابدًا بمبلغ

¹ The numerals in Arabic and Roman figures showing the different items of income and expenditure are not in the original and have been added by me to make the meaning of the sentence clear.

² *Mu'azzin*, the public crier, who assembles the people to prayers by proclamation from a high place.

³ *Farrāsh*, one who spreads the carpets or cushions.

⁴ *Deotī*, probably means the 'door-keeper.'

